



# PAPERS

•Received in connection with

&  
—

# SPEECHES

Delivered at

# TRIBAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE

HELD IN NEW DELHI

on

*4th & 5th December, 1954.*



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The papers received in connection with and the speeches delivered at the Tribal Affairs Conference held in New Delhi on the 4th and 5th of December, 1954 are printed for the information of State Governments and others who participated in the Conference.

Part I of the book contains the papers and is divided into :—

1. Tribal Economy.
2. Tribal Education.
3. Tribal Culture.
4. Grant-in-aid Schemes for Tribal Welfare.
5. Land Problems of Tribals.

Some papers which dealt with more than one subject have been placed in a separate section "Miscellaneous".

Part II of this volume comprises of the speeches delivered at the sessions of the conference.

A summary of the suggestions made in the papers and of points raised in the speeches is given in Part III.

The comments made and suggestions offered in the papers or the speeches represent the personal views of the persons concerned and this publication should not be taken as implying their acceptance by the Government of India.

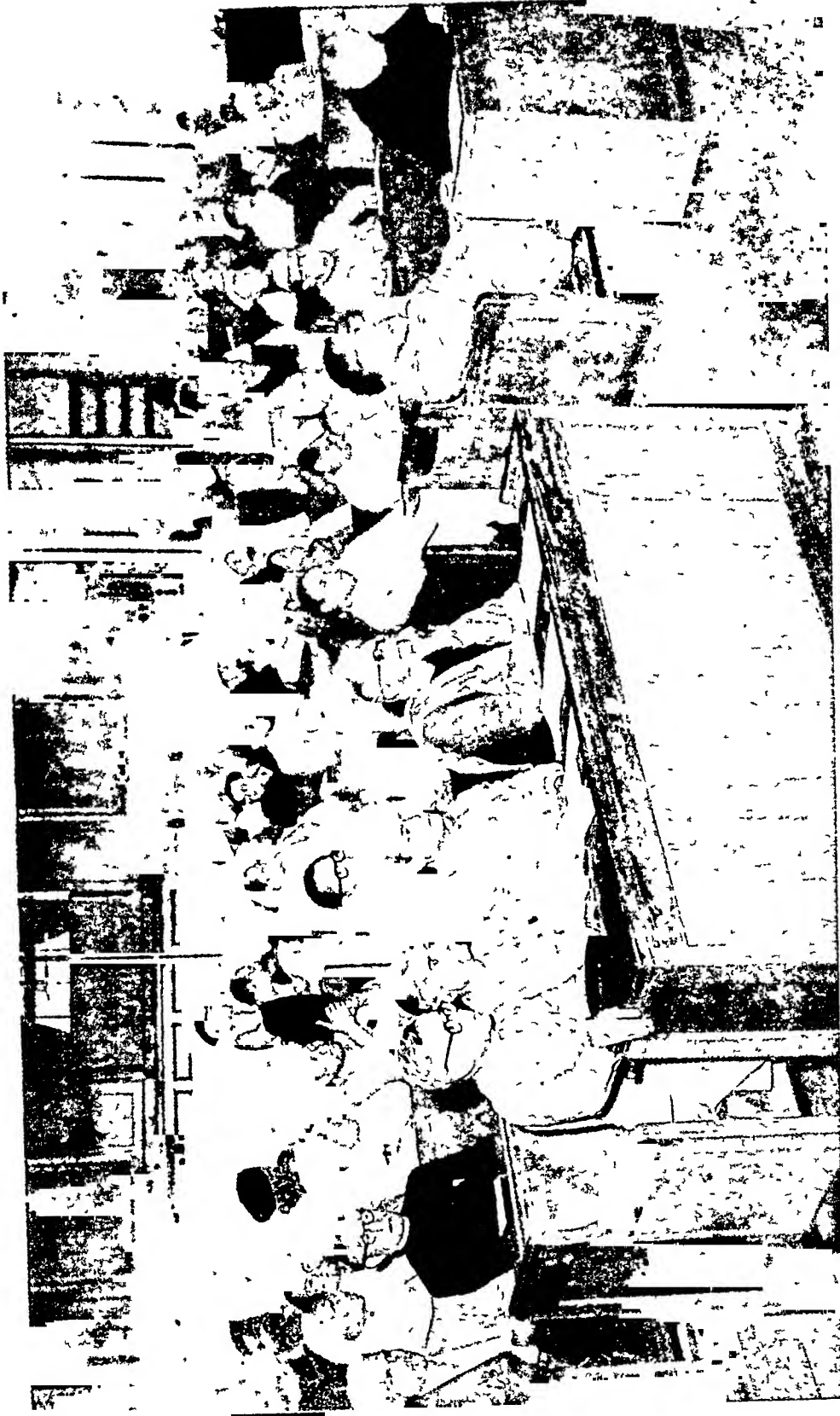


*PART I*  
*PAPERS*



TRIBAL ECONOM





A view of the Tribal Affairs Conference





Government of Assam.

In dealing with the question of availability of land for cultivation by the tribal people in Assam, a clear distinction has to be made between the tribal people living in the hills and those living in the plains. So far as the tribal people in the hills are concerned the question is not so much of availability of land, as of making the best use of the land already available, that is, putting each piece of land to the use by which it will produce most and deteriorate least, regulating the agricultural practices so as to obtain the best out of the land without any avoidable destruction or waste of natural resources, and the proper selection of the crops—food as well as cash—which would be most suitable for the areas and which would bring in the most profitable return to the cultivators. Generally speaking, it may safely be stated that there is enough land at the disposal of the community in all the hill areas. In some areas, individual families or clans own lands. In other areas, land is at the disposal of the community, the allotment of land for cultivation to individual families during a particular season being, to a greater or lesser extent, controlled by the village chief and other functionaries, known by different names in different areas.

The system of cultivation now generally prevalent in the hill areas is of the shifting type, commonly known as "*Jhum*". The practice is to clear the hills of tree or bamboo growth, burn the jungle so cleared, and dibble the seeds in the soil beneath the ash. For the first year or two, good crops are harvested, but the fertility in the soil is soon squandered away, and being left with no tree cover, a good part of the soil also gets washed down the hill slopes during the rains. The system as now practised is undoubtedly wasteful. It has come in for serious criticism during recent years, for the reason that it leads to the rapid denundation of fertility in the soil, and in many cases is directly responsible for large scale soil erosion on the hill slopes. But it is often not appreciated that the system of *jhumming* has been resorted to by the hill people, more due to their ignorance of any other more productive and scientific system of cultivation, than because of any special liking for it, or because it is comparatively easier than any other system of cultivation. It would not be wrong to say that the system of *jhumming* calls for the most arduous physical exertion, in some cases, perhaps, even more arduous than what the ordinary settled wet cultivation would call for.

An alternative to this system of *jhumming* would be the "Terrace System" of cultivation. In this system, terraces are made on hill slopes, and crops

grown in such terraces. Where irrigation facilities are available, the system is known as wet terracing, and where no such facilities are available, it is known as dry terracing. But it is not in every area that terracing will be feasible, or is really essential. So long as the "*jhumming* cycle" i.e. the period between two successive *jhums* on the same land, is sufficiently large, the land gets a chance to get under vegetation and thereby build its soil as also gain in fertility. The trouble has arisen in recent years primarily because the *jhumming* cycle has tended to become shorter, partly due to pressure of increasing population, and partly due to some of hill slopes having become barren and denuded of soil, thereby leaving the land with no chance to build up its soil or fertility. Too frequent *jhumming* has naturally caused the hill sides to be denuded of soil and fertility, and resulted in all the consequent revages both in the hills and in the plains. The soil washed down the hill slopes has been responsible for the checking of some rivers, making them unfit for navigation.

The subject was recently investigated in some detail by the Inspector-General of Forests and the Agricultural Commissioner of the Government of India. In their view, while it would be preferable to replace *jhumming* by a system of terrace cultivation wherever feasible, *jhumming* in itself is not to be regarded as something dangerous or entirely to be spurned. They have suggested that if almost simultaneously with the sowing of seeds in a *jhum* or immediately thereafter, steps could be taken to afforest the land so that a blanket of vegetation could be built up on it within a reasonable period, there would be no harm in subjecting the land to *jhumming* at reasonably long intervals. The blanket of vegetation would help in retaining the moisture and building up the fertility of the soil, and at the same time enable the soil to be retained on the hill slopes without allowing it to be washed away by swift and forceful currents of water during rains. The species of trees for the afforestation of *jhummed* land have to be carefully selected. It should be easy to propagate, ready to fell in a period of 8 to 10 years—the reasonable *jhumming* cycle—and should be able to build up the fertility of the soil during this period. These conditions are admirably fulfilled in 'wattle'. It is easy to raise, ready to fell in 8 to 10 years, and after removing its bark, which alone is of commercial importance, its wood can be burnt, the ash being utilised as manure in the *jhums*. Wattle bark is rich in tannin. India imports wattle bark every year. In the opinion of the Inspector-General of Forests and the Agricultural Commissioner, Government of India, the scope which the hills of Assam offer for raising wattle plantations is immense. Wattle being of the leguminous species fixes the nitrogen in the soil. It will help in building up fertility and also suppress weeds, which will otherwise tend to compete with food crops, reducing yields. Thus, in wattle cultivation, in the opinion of these experts, lies the solution to the regeneration

of *jhummed* land. The disposal of its valuable bark would help in bringing a good return for the tribal people and in strengthening their economy.

For putting the land available in the hills to the best use, the pattern recommended is as follows :—

- (i) Hill tops and steep slopes—slopes steeper than  $45^{\circ}$ , should be kept permanently afforested, if necessary by reservation. The cover of thick vegetation at the top will help in regulating and prolonging the flow of water for irrigation and in preventing soil erosion by fast moving currents of rain water.
- (ii) Lower down, *jhumming* could be practised. Here steps to afforest the land, should be taken almost simultaneously with or immediately after the cultivation of food crops.
- (iii) Gentle slopes should be terraced, and these with the flat land in the valleys, should be utilised for the cultivation of agricultural crops.

The border areas of the Garo Hills and the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills produce considerable quantities of perishable items like oranges, pineapples etc. Some cash crops such as fruits, betel leaves, bay leaves, chillies and betel nuts are already grown by the tribal people. These deserve to be further encouraged. But crops such as cardamom, pepper, coffee and cashew-nuts which have not yet been tried on a large scale are sure to thrive in these hills. The introduction of these crops would strengthen the economy of the people of these hills. These crops not being perishable, should present no serious transport difficulties, which perishables like oranges and pine-apples present now. Steps have been taken to introduce some of these crops in the hill areas, on a subsidy basis. Further possibilities of growing tapioca, sweet potatoes, and potatoes in some of these areas still remain to be fully explored, though a good beginning has been made. It will probably be necessary to replace some of the low yielding varieties by those which will bring in better yield.

Wherever suitable flat lands fit for cultivation are available, it is essential to reclaim such lands and resettle the tribal people on them. It would be necessary to undertake such reclamation mostly through mechanised means, as the implements to which the tribal people are used are generally of a primitive nature. The tribal families should be settled on the reclaimed lands in a planned fashion, plots of land being allotted to individual families or to co-operative farming societies formed by the tribal people. It might be possible to recover a portion of the cost of reclamation by the levy of premia on those who settle on the lands. But preliminary calculation indicates that it would not be possible to recover the entire cost of reclamation from the beneficiaries. In special cases even the entire cost of reclamation will have to be met by the Government as grant-in-aid.

In the plains, the Government have taken steps to safeguard the interests of the backward classes including the tribal people in land by notifying the areas inhabited by such backward people as tribal belts or blocks. Alienation of land to, and settlement of land with people not belonging to backward classes within such notified areas are prohibited by law. Preference is shown in the settlement of land in these notified areas to tribal people and other backward classes. Thus it is ensured that cultivable land in the possession of backward classes and tribal people is not alienated and they have enough land for cultivation.

In the hills, barring the forests constituted as 'Reserve', all forests are now under the control of the elected autonomous tribal district councils set up in these areas. In the exploitation of the forests under these councils, they would surely be guided by the best interests of the people they represent. So far as the reserve forests in the hill areas and the forests in the plains predominantly inhabited by the tribal people are concerned, preference is shown to the tribal people in the settlement of forest *mahals* as against non-tribals. A prescribed percentage of the forests coupes in the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal people, is reserved for being worked by the tribal people and the forest villagers, and non-tribals are not allowed to participate in auctions for their settlement. The State Government would be glad to encourage co-operative societies formed by the tribal people for working forest *mahals* and coupes.

Apart from encouraging tribal people in taking to more scientific agricultural practices, undertaking cultivation of new cash crops which would command profitable markets, and in working forests, it is essential to encourage the development of cottage industries in the tribal areas, with a view to raising their earning capacity and strengthening their economy. Fruit preservation, bee-keeping, horticulture, spinning and weaving, soap manufacture, basket-making, paper-making and umbrella-handle-making are among the occupations which the tribal people could undertake with profit. The State Government provide scholarships to help those tribal people who desire to obtain training in these industries and also grant limited subsidies to those who wish to take to these industries as a profession. There is great scope for the development of cottage industries in the tribal areas, as the necessary raw materials are available in an ample measure, and the requisite skill is also not wanting. Some of the cloth woven by the tribal people is exquisitely attractive and artistic, and is in great demand. The products of cottage industry from the tribal areas need to be popularised further through the establishment of emporia and the organisation of exhibitions of these products. The formation of producers' co-operative societies in these areas would help greatly in popularising the products of

cottage industry from the tribal areas, and in arranging for their marketing at prices profitable to the producers.

This year the State Government have taken steps to establish one emporium in each district and subdivisional headquarters of the Autonomous District for facilitating marketing of tribal cottage industries' products and supplying essential raw materials. The emporia will be linked with the State's Central Emporia at Gauhati and Karimganj.

There is a great dearth of technical personnel like doctors, engineers, compounders and other trained technicians in the tribal areas. For the development of the tribal areas, to which Government have already allotted high priority, and for which Government have already undertaken development schemes, a large number of such technical personnel is necessary. It is difficult to find such personnel in sufficient numbers from outside. The gap has to be filled by training the tribal people themselves in these professions. This is being done by awarding scholarships to tribal students who offer themselves for training in these professions. By availing themselves of these scholarships, and the facilities for training in the technical subjects, new avenues of employment shall open out before the tribal people.

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Paper No. 2.

**SHRI K. R. DEOGAM, M. P.** ( *Singhbhum, Bihar* )

Most of the problems which the different tribal communities face are alike, though some of them vary with the regions in which these tribes are resident. At the outset I would like to tell you that they are proverbially poor in the midst of very rich natural resources, to develop which they have no share, they have no hand, for they are kept in ignorance and in a state of helplessness by their guardians themselves. I am however proud to say that though poor, they are not beggars.

They just want help and opportunity so that they may be able to help themselves. So they require that kind of education which will help them in solving their own problems which are at present many. The problems of Singhbhum district in Bihar are known to me personally and I believe their remedies apply to most of the other tribes of other places also.

The crux of tribal welfare lies in the reconstruction and development of tribal economy. For their welfare, therefore, it is necessary that maximum attention be paid to the development of their economic life.

The tribal areas are mostly hilly and difficult to approach. Therefore, the first essential need is the improvement of communications and roads ; for it is through these channels that all the subsequent factors are to be pushed through. The officers in-charge of educating them, the medical staff to look after their health, to rush to them in case of epidemics, the agricultural advisers to advise them on modern methods of agriculture and all other officers can reach them only if there are some roads or other means of communications. Once good roads are made and markets brought within the purview of these people, then; firstly, they will be able to sell their wares at a better price; secondly, they will come in contact with the more civilised and advanced people. They will automatically understand the utilisation of their land and increase the various productions from it.

At the same time, caution should be the watchword in the development of communications. There is the danger of exploitation of these simple tribals by the outsiders if proper steps are not taken to safeguard them from the outside people who never hesitate to rob them of their hearth and home. All sorts of mean methods are adopted by shrewed outsiders to cheat the simple folks of their lands. The law-courts with their many shortcomings cannot give justice to these poor people, for justice is not cheap. The court is infested with robbers in the garb of *chaprasis*, *peshkars*, pleaders' clerks and pleaders themselves. The lawyers of both the parties are interested in prolonging the course of trial to earn more money. This results in complete fleecing of the poor tribals, for they not only lose their all but also the case. In this way, they are fast becoming landless labourers. I request the Government to make special legislation to protect their interests. These tribals rise and fall with their lands and once they are uprooted from their lands, they are doomed for ever.

I can cite instances of exploitations. About the year 1921 at the time of election to Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, one so-called champion of tribal welfare and a prospective candidate promised the tribal public that if elected, he would get the clause of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, which debarred the tribals from selling their lands to the non-tribals, deleted. He used to say, "Tribal folks are poor, and cannot offer a good price for your lands. Non-tribals are rich and if law permits them to buy your lands, they can pay you the maximum price for your lands. You have no absolute right over your land as you cannot dispose of your lands according to your sweet will." How nice were these honeyed words ! Some of the tribal leaders however saw the hook under the bait and warned their brethern in time. So the tribals instead of supporting the most qualified

Oriya leader, returned one old and experienced man for two consecutive terms. May the Government as well as the genuine welfare workers have eyes to recognise such wolves in sheep's clothing and protect the tribals from these masked thieves and robbers who have stepped into the position of their guardian angels.

It pains me a lot to find that sometimes the officials in-charge of tribal welfare themselves side with the usurpers in exploiting them. Once a social worker, a man of experience in irrigation, a farmer of progressive ideas belonging to the tribal community was the victim. Our leader, Shri Jaipal Singh, intervened otherwise he would have been ruined by official conspiracy. Once he was thus saved, but some other officials are still after him. He is required to pay income-tax on the ground that he earned money in contract work but the truth is that he, being enthusiastic in carrying out irrigation schemes for the good of the public, volunteered his services and completed several irrigation works for which he received just the amount to be paid to the labourers and he could not make money nor was it his object to make money. Before the Government could build a dam across a river, he was the first person to build a dam at his own cost. He served as a Goladar for over 15 years and he allowed his own house to be used as a Graingola. He was never paid any remuneration or house-rent. On the contrary, a large sum of money is being demanded from him. Once he was preparing for suing the State Government for his dues, but poor as he is, he cannot pay the huge court fee. The Government should honour such a social worker, but as ill luck would have it, he is victimised and I do not know what other miseries are in store for him.

The Constitution of India provides for several safe-guards for the well-being of the tribals and chapter 37 of the First Five Year Plan also provides measures for their uplift in different spheres. These provisions if fully and properly implemented should do immense good to these people but unfortunately all that is required is not done. In Bihar State, the provisions of the Plan are to be carried through by the District Development and District Co-ordination Committees, but how can they implement them when they do not have a copy of the Plan even. They do not know what things they should do for the tribals.

In chapter 13, it is stated, that the conditions are now generally such that there has to be a positive policy of assisting the tribal people to develop their natural resources and to evolve a productive economic life wherein they will enjoy the fruits of their labour and will not be exploited by more organised economic forces from outside. Again in chapter 16, it is said that there has to be taken to see that communications are not prematurely developed, economic exploitation by outside and more advanced co . . .



It is wrong to say, as said in paragraph 23, that we are not fully conscious of the richness of our environments. We are fully conscious of the immense rich minerals buried by nature under the rugged mountainous region of Chotanagpur and also of the forest wealth, both major and minor. We have inexhaustible mines of iron, manganese, kaolin, delomite, copper, mica, bauxite, coal etc. The forests of Singhbhum, especially those of the Saranda and Kolhan forest divisions, are one of the finest in India, and are valuable source of supply of constructional timbers of *Shorea Rubasta* i.e. Sal of the biggest dimensions. But as youthful beauty is curse for a poor woman, so also our rich natural resources provide a curse to us, the poor tribals; for these attracted streams of outsiders who are exploiting us and are getting fatter and fatter on our land and on our sweat, and we are proportionally getting thinner and thinner.

The economy of tribal communities mainly centres round utilisation and exploitation of forest produce. Paragraph 18 of chapter 37 of the Plan envisages to entrust the tribals with the care and exploitation of forests, and further provides for the opening of the forest schools to bring the young tribals up to love, care for and work systematically for the enrichment of the forests which means in turn the betterment of their own lives. This article is not fulfilled. The system of private individual forest contractors, middle-men and profiteers still prevails and they take away the best part of the economic yield. Moreover forced labour is extracted from these half-naked, starving people. These people have to submit to this because if they do not send at least one person from their family for about 4 or 5 days, they are turned out of their villages. In spite of the fact that the Plan has been in operation for about three years, the Government have done pretty little in this direction.

The young tribals are not getting training to enable them to work systematically their own forests as is proposed in the Plan. The tribals being poor people cannot bid in the auction, and cannot get a chance to exploit this wealth of theirs. In view of this, I suggest that co-operative societies for the utilisation of forests should be formed and should be financed by the State Governments. Instead of giving contracts for the care, storage, transport and marketing to the individual contractors, these contracts should be given to these societies. This will ameliorate the condition of the tribals.

Similarly, markets in the tribal areas are leased to the highest bidder. In this case also, the tribals cannot bid and all the markets go to the outsiders. Every year they are auctioned and the intending bidders vie with one another and naturally the auction sale-price of the markets shoot up year after year. The leasees or the Hat-Thikadars who are outsiders must levy hat-tolls in such a manner that they make profit. Now when the auction sale-price shoots up

year after year, you may imagine the manner of levying tolls by these Thikadars. Of course, the rate of tolls for each article or each kind of shop is fixed by the Deputy Commissioner and the scheduled rate is printed and it is required of the Thikadars to hang it up in a prominent place in the market ground, so that the people may not be charged exorbitantly. But the Thikadars do not obey this rule. Even if they hang it up, the mass illiteracy which still prevails in the tribal areas is taken advantage of by them. I suggest that instead of auctioning the markets to these middlemen, these should be given to the Co-operative Societies and the total annual sum payable for each market should be fixed on the basis of commodities and transactions. The auction system should go, as in this system, the toll collector must exact and oppress the poor people. Similarly, the government tanks and rivers are leased out to the highest bidders, and again the local tribals cannot afford to bid. The non-tribals take the tanks for pisciculture for 3 or 4 years.

I now invite attention to other forest produce.

**Lac.**—The tribals are expert in rearing lac in Plum trees and in Kusum, Palas etc. which are abundantly found in Chotanagpur Plateau but they are mere producers of raw material. They sell lac to the middlemen.

**Sabai grass** is used for rope making which is a cottage industry which engages the tribals during the off season when they are free from agricultural operations, but for landless tribals this industry keeps them engaged all the year round and is the means of livelihood. A large area of Sabai Grass is leased out to paper mills which sell grass to tribals. So on account of this system the price of grass is high for the tribals. Fodder or grass may be collected and made into hay for supply to Dairy-cum-Cattle-breeding Farms which may be profitably established in Chotanagpur.

**Carpentry and Wood work.**—I have already pointed out that we have the richest forests, so it is very convenient to teach the tribals carpentry and wood-work. At present only Russel H.E. School at Jagannathpur in Singhbhum provides instructions in carpentry. It should be extended to other Secondary Schools and Middle Schools of the tribal area.

**Tassar Silk Industry.**—Now I come to the most important industry which needs encouragement in the tribal area in Singhbhum. Chaibasa the district headquarters, is the biggest market of tassar silk cocoon and the producers are all tribal people, but they do not know spinning and weaving. They should be taught this. At present all the tassar cocoons are transported to Orissa and Bhagalpur. In Orissa, tassar cloth of all varieties, for example sarees, dhooties, shirtings, coatings, turbans, chadars are made and Bhagalpur has a silk

Institute but the tassar cocoons are brought from Chaibasa. Chaibasa, the biggest market for cocoons, should have the best claim for the seat of tassar industry, and to have this industry far away from the place where raw material is available, is unwise and bad economy. Here also middlemen who buy cocoons from the tribals and transport them, get the benefit.

Hitherto the tribes have been rearing tassar cocoons in asan trees which grew by themselves. Due to old age they are fast dying out. Nobody has pointed this fact to them. As these trees are so important, the people should be taught to plant as many asan trees as they can, so that they may continue to be the greatest producers of tassar.

**Arts, Crafts and Mineral Industries.**—Para 23 of the Plan, speaks very highly of the tribals in these words “They are invariably accustomed to more than one type of economic activity. Their free life, initiative, dexterity and desire for basic goods for domestic, religious and social life leads them to exploit the resources of their environment and thus they are creators of a large number of interesting crafts, which are practised not so much to supplement their income as to supply them with some of the necessities of life. They require to be helped to exploit commercially the clay, stone, animal, bird, insect and plant life of the forests, using their skills in organised way and exporting their produce to the markets of the land.” Praising our economic activity, dexterity etc., and making some nice sounding provisions in the Plan will not do us any good. If they are not implemented they are mere paper boats carrying us nowhere. The tribals apply for leases to extract very simple minerals like building stone, but they are not given to them. Some pretext or the other is made and the poor tribal is made to dance attendance on the mining office for more than eight months. I speak from my personal knowledge how a tribal was harassed by the Mining Officer. He applied for a lease for building stone in his village area. He was given false hopes, and the lease was at last given to a nontribal of the town. There is no trace of any organised co-operatives for economic uplift of the tribals.

**Livestock.**—The poultry farm at Chaibasa does not get timely grant of money, and sometimes the poorly paid man in-charge has to feed the fowls from his own pocket. He has no residence near the farm and has to stay at a long distance, and he cannot take care of the fowls efficiently. In the same way the Livestock Inspector of Singhbhum is hampered in his duty. Both of them are well trained and are enthusiastic but they cannot work well due to the apathy of their superiors. A veterinary dispensary was recently opened at Hatgamaria, 20 miles from Chaibasa, but the doctor who went there had to sit idle for non-supply of medicines, implements and instruments.

**Agricultural Economy.**—Here the problem of hill tribes and tribes living in plains slightly differ. In hill areas, the proper utilisation of land rather than the shortage of land is the problem, whereas in the plains the problem is the shortage of land.

The tribal communities in mountainous regions have long been accustomed to shifting cultivation. They clean forests, burn to ashes not only leaves and twigs but also trees on the plot to be cultivated and grow a crop there, and shift to other part of the jungle. In Dhalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum, about 50 families were given permanent settlement and help in the form of seeds, plough oxen and are happy in adopting the settled method of cultivation. More and more of the nomadic tribes roaming in the jungles may be persuaded to settle down. This will save the jungles from the reckless destruction and also do permanent good to the tribes. I met some of these nomadic tribes in their leaf camps and found that they would take to settled cultivation if they get opportunities and facilities. There is sufficient rainfall in hill areas, but the rain water runs down the hill sides washing away the rich surface soil and leaving the area dry and rocky. So tanks, contour bunds and dams across the streams and rivers can protect the soil from erosion, serve the purpose of irrigation, and also save the low plains from being flooded.

I feel the painful necessity of pointing out that some of the irrigation bunds and water channels were mad and foolish schemes. Even during the first year the embankments were washed away and water never accumulated in the tank and the channels instead of leading water out of the tank, served as an inlet. I was on-the-spot witness of such schemes and I have written letters to the Deputy Commissioner with rough sketch of the schemes. Though these could not irrigate even an inch of land, the poor people were enlisted as beneficiaries and served with notice to pay the cost of the schemes.

*Paper No. 3.*

SHRI B. RACHAPPA, B. A. (Commissioner for Depressed Classes, Mysore).

In the Tribal Conferences held in Delhi, Nagpur and Lohardighat in the years 1952-53 and even prior, Mysore State does not appear to have been represented. Therefore, I should like to give an account of the Tribal Economy of Mysore State, which would be of interest, before going into the details of the paper, viz., Tribal Economy.

The Tribal population of Mysore State is 16,293: Rs. 100 = 100/-

1464.

### *Names of the Tribes :-*

- (1) Kadu Kurubars :- (a) Jenu Kurubars and  
(b) Betta Kurubars.
- (2) Soligas.
- (3) Iruligas.
- (4) Hasalarus, and
- (5) Malerus.

The Kadukurubars of the South Western Forests, the Soligas of the Biligiri-Rangan Hills on the South East and the Iruligas of the plains in Bangalore District and the Hasalarus and the Malerus, who live along the Ghats in the Western frontier are the aboriginal tribes in Mysore State. The Kurubars or Kurumbas as they are called, extend to the Niligiri Hills where the Badagas attribute to them great powers of sorcery.

The Kadu Kurubars of Mysore are divided into Betta or Hill Kurubars and Jenu or Honey Kurubars. The Betta Kurubars are a smart and active race capable of enduring great fatigue and are expert woodmen ; and the Jenu or Honey Kurubars are a darker and inferior race who employ themselves in collecting honey and bees' wax. Their villages or clusters of houses are called Hades. One of their peculiar customs is that they have a separate house or chavadi set apart in which the unmarried females sleep during nights and another at the other extremity of the Hade for the unmarried males both being under the supervision of the headmen of the tribe. They are their own barbers, bits of broken glass doing duty of a razor. Strangers are not allowed to enter Hade with shoes on, In case of deaths adults only are cremated ; children are buried.

The Betta Kurubars worship Forest deities called Norali and Masthamma and also their ancestors. Some of them believe in spirits. They are revengeful but if treated kindly will do willing service. The Jenu-Kurubars never own or cultivate land for themselves nor keep live-stock of their own. The Jenu-Kurubars collect Honey from the forest and make a living out of it. They are a set of lazy people. The Kadu-Kurubars do not make their women-folk work. Both classes are experts in tracking wild animals as well as skilful in eluding pursuit by wild beasts accidentally encountered. Their children when more than two years old move about freely in the jungles.

The Iruligas of forest tracts in the Eastern District are another tribe closely resembling the Jenu-Kurubars and pursuing agriculture.

The Soligas are a very secluded race. They speak old Kanarese and are remarkable for their keenness of sight and skill in tracking wild animals.

The Hasalarus and Malorus appear to be immigrants from South Canara and they speak Tulu. They are somewhat advanced in civilization. They collect minor forest products for their employers whose agrestic slaves they have virtually become. Of late, some are living in villages along with others.

The Soligas, Iruligas and Hasalarus are also animists or spirit worshipers. They are still in the extremely primitive stage. The men wear only loin cloth and the women cover their waists. They did not know how to wear sarees till very recently when about 200 sarees were purchased from the Depressed Class Amelioration Grant and were distributed to the women folk of Karapur Jungle in 1952 and again 100 sarees were similarly distributed in 1953. They were also taught how to wear sarees. The men also have been using knicker and half-arms for the last three years.

They eat wild fruits and certain roots and wild potatoes which are found in the forest. They make ballsout of Ragi and Cholam and occasionally get rice and make gruel. They shoot birds and beasts in the forest with their arrows and cook and eat them.

They are nomadics. They change their settlement once in two or three years. They live in huts built of Bamboo-thatti walls and the roofs covered with forest grass. They do not know how to plough the land; they scratch the surface of the earth with spade and sow seeds of ragi and maize and as soon as they take the harvest, they give up that plot of land and go elsewhere and there again begin their cultivation in this way. But the Iruligas of the plains have settled down permanently in groups.

They live as forest coolies: they cut timber trees and help the Forest Officers in transporting them to the nearest Depot. Most of them are mahouts and tame wild elephants. They help Forest Officers in the "KHEDDA" operations where they catch herds of wild elephants.

Extracting honey and selling it in the neighbouring fairs is one of the main occupations of Jenuu-Kurubars. In addition they collect forest produce such as horns, skins, soapnut grouts, thangadi barks for the contractors and earn their wages. They prepare baskets and mats out of bamboos and sell them in the neighbouring shandies. By coming into contact with the Forest officials they have learnt the use of hatchet, axe, saw and such other implements.

The men and women marry fairly early in their teens. Boys and girls when they begin to love each other, run away to the forest and spend a night there. Then they are discovered by their relatives and come back and give a dinner to the tribe and live together. As soon as the son in the family marries this way, he sets up a separate hut and lives there with his wife. Both boys and girls seem to know sex much earlier than they get married because

do not prevent them from playing, chatting and mixing together. Many a time these children play the games of married couples ; such as setting up separate huts, making ovens and cooking and living together. Polygamous marriages are allowed ; a man can marry his own wife's sister ; cross-cousin marriages are also allowed. An unmarried brother generally marries his brother's widow, just to give protection to her and her children.

Each clan or tribe lives away from the other. Their marriages are endogamous. The sects of the same totem do not inter-marry. Marriages are by free choice. Among Soligas, marriages are arranged by the parents. A Betta-Kurubar does not marry a Jenukurubar girl. Taking a wife by seizure is said to prevail among the Iruligas ; the seizure is said to be by previous arrangement now-a-days.

Each tribe has got one or two Headmen who hear their disputes and adjudicate upon them by punishing both the complainant and the accused with fines but the accused found guilty of aggression or assault will have to pay a higher fine. All these realisations by means of fines will go to the community. Most of the minor offences such as assaults, simple hurts, etc., will never go to the police but are generally settled by the Headmen and only the heinous crimes are reported to the police.

Both on the occasions of marriage and death ceremonies, tribal dinners will have to be given by the parties concerned in which drink will be a major item. They drink toddy generally but arrack occasionally. Their marriages are simple ceremonies and cost much less than death. Many a time these families will not have more than one stomach-full of meals. They make roties out of ragi and eat with a little chilli-powder and salt or *chatni*.

They wear straw hats and dices and bangles of bones and lead for their ornaments. Women seem to be proud of necklaces, anklets and rings but they do not comb their hair. Men seldom take bath ; only monthly or bi-monthly and the women after their periods—once a month, and on festive occasions.

Keeping all these characteristics of the Hill Tribes in view and least interfering with or introducing radical and sudden changes in their manners and customs, we, in Mysore have planned the uplift of the hill tribes in the following way.

The Hill Tribes of Mysore were included among the Depressed Classes for special attention long ago. A Residential Free Hostel and a School has been running for the tribal children since 1940. Three Tribal schools were started in the State in 1950-51 and they have been working well. From the year 1951-52, greater attention is being paid to the problem of improving the economic condition and education of the Scheduled Tribes.

A Liaison Officer was appointed to tour the Tribal areas and to organise the tribal people to take to education, to improve their habitation and to make use of medical facilities available to them in the neighbouring villages and to send their children for education.

I shall give here a brief account of the method which the Government of Mysore thought out and adopted for improving the conditions of the Hill Tribes in the State. The hill tribes are not suffering from any social disabilities, and once their economic condition is improved, everything else will be all right with them. Knowing that the aboriginal tribes of Mysore were primitive nomads, we wanted to settle them and rehabilitate them and induce them to take to settled cultivation, giving up their time-honoured shifting cultivation, for shifting cultivation resulted not only in a great loss to the forest wealth of the State but also in poor yield. The method of cultivation used by the hill tribes is crude. They do not manure their crops. They do not make use of even the ordinary implements for agriculture. Hence to settle them on land in permanent colonies and train them for agriculture must occupy our foremost attention in improving the tribal economy.

As the tribes were shifting from place to place, year after year, no tangible improvement in their habitation and arrangements for education and other facilities for drinking water, medical and other amenities could be made.

We therefore wanted to make these people settle in colonies and take to agriculture. Three agricultural colonies have been started for the Kadukurubars and the Soligas in Mysore State. 900 Acres of land have been released from the Forest Department and have been granted to the Hill Tribes in these three colonies.

84 strong and beautiful quarters with tiles and substantial walls of brick and mortar at a cost of Rs. 1,20,666/- and 58 quarters in the maidan for Iruligas at a cost of Rs. 29,500/- have been constructed for the hill tribes' families. A sum of Rs. 30,750/- has been provided to supply them with plough bullocks this year.

Two free Boarding Hostels and Schools for 90 children in all were started during 1953-54 at a cost of Rs. 48,810/- and they are working satisfactorily. One more Hostel and school at a cost of Rs. 20,100/- for 30 children is to be started this year. Arrangements have been made to house them in temporary uildings till the permanent buildings are constructed.



A Health Unit was started in 1953-54 at a cost of Rs. 19,475/- and an Assistant Health Officer and 2 Health Inspectors have been appointed and a jeep has been provided at a cost of Rs. 14,125/- together with necessary medicines for distribution to the hill tribes.

Approach roads are being prepared at a cost of Rs. 7,000/- and Five Wells have been sunk in these Colonies and are estimated to cost Rs. 12,000/-

Clothes were freely distributed to the women and children at a cost of Rs. 1,000/-.

It is under contemplation to start a co-operative society for the benefit of the hill tribes. The initial share capital will be advanced by Government as loan. The Society will purchase their honey and other minor forest produce and sell them and distribute the profits. The Society will also deal with all the minor forest produce, so that the tribals may be saved from the exploitation at the hands of the middlemen and earn the profit for themselves.

It is under contemplation to supply the tribals with milch-cows and buffaloes free of cost, so that they might pursue animal husbandry and dairy farming to some extent.

Arrangements are being contemplated to impart instructions in handicrafts which are being pursued by the tribals. It is our desire to bring together the scattered groups and hamlets to these big agricultural colonies and extend meliorative programme, which we are very anxious to pursue.

Efforts are being made to enlighten them and practically demonstrating to them the benefit that they could derive by this colonisation scheme. Care has been taken to preserve their natural environments and all that is good in their culture.

It is under contemplation to start Basic and Adult Education centres and to start some more schools and hostels according to the financial help that is received from the Government of India.

The land grant to them is made non-transferable.

Ultimately it is our object to develop leadership from among the tribal people and to let them work as autonomous bodies. Workers have got to be trained for organizing the tribes and to enlighten them on the schemes which are intended for civilizing and improving them.

As there are no non-official organizations in Mysore to take up this work, the entire thing is being done by Government and that very creditably.

**SHRI P. KESAVAN** (*Commissioner for the Advancement of Backward  
Communities, Travancore-Cochin*)

In the year 1950, according to the Proclamation of the President of the Indian Republic, 16 different communities were classified and grouped as Scheduled Tribes in the State of Travancore-Cochin. These tribal groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological sector of the population. The KANIKKARS of Trivandrum and Quilon Divisions, the MALAPPANDARAN of Shencottah and Pathanamthitta, the PALIYANS of Shencottah and Peermade, the MANNANS, MUTHUVANS and URALIS of Peermade and Devicolam and Moovattupuzha, the MALAYARAYANS of Thodupuzha, Changanacaherry, Meenachil and Peermade, the MALAPULAYANS of Devicolam and the KADARS of Parambikulam are the most important of the tribes of the State.

The total population of the tribes is not found to have been reliably estimated so far. Neither are numerical data about their income and agricultural production, or about diseases and mortality in their midst available. Roughly, however the tribal population is estimated to be between 35,000 and 40,000. Habitation in the jungle, tribal religion and certain racial and cultural characteristics go to form the general criterion for classification. Planters and travellers speak of primitive folk, with only tree leaves and bark to cover their nudity, inhabiting the dark interior of the wilderness beyond Mundakayam and Edamalai. Behind the almost impenetrable barriers of race and language, they live in complete isolation from the rest of the nation whereas their cognates in the hill slopes and valleys of adjoining lowland, clad though scantily, in cotton or wollen clothes approximate more and more to modern ways of life.

The tribes are in different stages of evolution. But all of them take to agriculture in some form. The tribal economy can in this sense, be called an agricultural economy. Some are nomads and food-gatherers even today and subsist on such fruits, roots and tubers as the forest would provide; and others cultivate patches of land rendered fit for sowing seeds by burning down the trees and creepers. These men remain in one place perhaps for two, three years, growing grain in one year and then obtaining a crop of tapioca or plantains the next year from the same plot.

Most of the tribes move every year, clearing a bit of the forest in January.

ng the grain in September and clearing another piece of forest the following

But some of the tribes like the Kanies, Paliyans and Malayarayans vary cultivation and they remain for several years on the same spot and they in many places planted jack, arecanut, cocoanut and other fruitbearing

The individual tribe held the land he cultivated or occupied in trust, ring his title from his ancestors, or in any event as a recognised member of community handing it over to his accepted heirs. The tribe does not seem to : possessed any clear legal title over the land he thus occupied ; and pective of the period of its occupation had to vacate the land and move to interior when men from the plains came to occupy such lands. These ers from the plains, in not a few cases, take advantage of the confusion over l titles and absence of exact land surveys. It is said that extensive stretches forest land were once in the possession of some of these tribes either as gifts n the rulers for meritorious services rendered or by virtue of occupation from e immemorial. Whatever be the truth about these ancestral holdings, the es are largely landless now. There have been successive waves of immigrants n the lowlands where no vacant land for cultivation for its teeming millions is ilable. The land is scarce for the tribes and the scopæ for cultivation too is y much limited now.

The three "principal and inter-related factors of social integration" among baric peoples and savage tribes, have been summarised under the following ids :-

- “(i) the chieftainship,
- (ii) magic and sorcery with their roots in the mythological and religious traditions of the people, and
- (iii) the system of exchange of gifts and barter of goods, partly economic and partly ceremonial and non-economic.”

It may safely be said that the economics and ethics and jurisprudence the tribes have evolved from these functional social determinants. The land oduce is allocated among the workers, the chief, the priest or magicians and e rest bartered for necessities of life.

The crops generally raised by the tribes are paddy, tapioca, ragi, cardamom and pepper. Honey, wax, herbs and spices which they collect from the rests, like the surplus of these agricultural produce, are generally exchanged r articles for daily use like salt, salted fish, kerosene oil, cloth, jewellery and metimes trinkets which the men from the lowland take to them. Sometimes ey come down to the lowland and make these purchases. The tribes receive

these articles in return for the services they render to the contractors in the collection of the forest produce.

Till recently it was a moneyless economy that was in vogue among the tribes. With the development of communications and increased contacts with the men from plains, the tribes are getting used to coins and currency notes. In their illiteracy, they more often than not, are apt to be dodged by the superior accountancy and business capacity of these dealers. In the transactions with the tribes, though credit sale and cash advances are disallowed, due perhaps to the fascination that the commodities from the plains have on the tribes' imagination, or out of actual hardship, he found himself obliged to buy on credit or borrow from the moneyed men of the plains. This kind of credit is mostly short term or consumption credit. There is no scope for long term loans. The main reason for this, in this State as elsewhere, appears to be, the absence in these areas of a developed market in land. Land held by indigenous communities, broken up into small plots, and encumbered by conflicting title claims has little value as a form of security for long term development loan. When money is advanced on such land, it is too often extended by speculators, in the hope of foreclosure or of creating permanent indebtedness. This general observation refers to a system of credit, which among tribes everywhere, has been responsible for their indebtedness. Sometimes advance is made even on standing crops. Lenders are not interested in the return of the loans, but often try to haggle with these tribes for their forest collection and agricultural produce. Sometimes these dealings develop personal acerbities and stories are told about force being exercised for the surrender of the produce.

Among the tribes, the notion of individual property was limited to objects of personal use, such as, ornaments, weapons and household goods. Of late, on account of the scarcity of land and hardships caused by the extremely limited scope for cultivation and the ideas of landed property filtering down into the tribes who are in touch with the plains, these tribes too are now actuated by a desire for the possession of land. At present for want of enough land, capital, and knowledge of modern methods of cultivation, the agricultural operations of the tribes do not bring adequate yield for their subsistence.

Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing play an important part in the economy of the tribes. The tribes are clever at archery. In hunting birds and animals they use bow and arrow, sling and trap, and net for fishing. The old forests with their abundance of game have now been converted into plantation areas and colonies of human habitation. The denudation of the forest so caused

by the low-land population coupled with indiscriminate poaching, has so reduced the scope for hunting that it has almost lost its old significance in the economy of the tribal family. The hardihood and verility which the forest dwellers did develop and exhibit, in days when they had to compete with the bison and the boar for their existence, too has disappeared and they now look a tame people. The mountain streams afforded scope for fishing. The construction of dams and reservoirs has diverted the course of the streams and that profession too does not present the prospects that it once did.

The tribes take to handicrafts like basket and mat-making with reeds and bamboo which the forests provide. The percentage of the tribal population that engages itself in these handicrafts, or is economically active in other ways, is known to be small; and the production is not undertaken on a scale large enough for a community's use or national market. The production of the craftsmen of the forests consists of weapons (bows, arrows, clubs, etc.) and fishing nets and snares, basket work and some primitive domestic utensils and agricultural implements. Unless handicrafts are reorganised with the modern appliances and technique, the products of these handicrafts can hardly find a market or bring a supplementary income worth the name to the tribes.

The tribes are engaged by the owners of estates and the forest contractors for services which they are, more or less bound to perform as a matter of custom. In such employment, whether the tribes enjoy fair terms and fair wages is a subject for investigation. Mute and inarticulate that they are, it is futile to expect written or formal complaints from them. Though for the present, serious complaints may not be lodged by them, the subject is one that should engage the vigilant attention of those who are concerned with their welfare.

It is the primitive type of agricultural economy generally met with in the nomadic stage of civilization that characterises tribal society. The productive capacity of the tribes is poor, whether it be in the agricultural or the industrial sphere. They do not by instinct or heredity appreciate the concept of thrift and saving for the morrow and are known to have the knack for uninhibited spending during ceremonial and festive occasions.

The living conditions of these people are estimated to be extremely low and lower than that of the lowest layer of indigenous people. They stagnate in conditions of economic destitution and pronounced cultural and technical backwardness. The literacy figures of the tribes of the Travancore-Cochin State are not separately available. According to the 1931 census of India, 1 in every 172 was literate among the tribes. Later on, though literates increased, illiteracy also increased and therefore the exact rise in literacy cannot be assessed.

In the State there are only two students in the college classes. In the High School classes their number is increasing.

Poverty and illiteracy have left their dark stamp on the tribes' houses, diet, health and communal life. Those of them that take to a nomadic life and shifting cultivation by burning forest areas, do not find it worth their while to build permanent houses.

Their houses are therefore constructed mostly of reeds and last just one or two years. Some of the tribes prefer to have their huts scattered about the clearings, each family occupying a separate shed. But others like the Mannans and Malayarayans and Kanis prefer to build comparatively large houses with many rooms in some central place. A fire is always kept burning to scare away wild beasts and for warmth. The Uralis live in huts perched on tree tops far above the reach of wild animals. Describing the "concrete causes of the decline of subject races" an author of eminence has drawn pointed attention to the ill-ventilated and over-crowded houses of the natives and the custom of burning fires in their houses and the resulting smoke vitiating the air and prejudicing the life and health of children born under such conditions. The custom of sleeping and living in close proximity to damp soil and the breeding ground of mosquitoes aggravate and increase malaria. Their clothing too is poor and insufficient for the climatic conditions under which they live. This too may add to the causes of their ill-health.

On the authority of Shri L.A. Krishna Iyer and Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, "The Indigenous Peoples" published by the International Labour Office, Geneva, in 1953, states that in Travancore Leprosy is now found among the Kanikar, the Muthuvans and the Vishvans, elephantiasis among the Kanikkar, syphilis among the Paliyans and smallpox among the Muthuvans the Mannans and others".

All these maladies may not be perhaps traceable directly to want of environmental sanitation or proper housing. But one should not be surprised to know that all the diseases of malnutrition or undernourishment are bound to take a heavy toll of lives from the tribes year after year. Their menu is devoid of protein, minerals, and vitamins and has excess of carbohydrates. It is found on analysis to be far below any standard diet that would ensure the minimum caloric or the protective content. They use paddy sparingly. For about eight or ten months, they subsist on tapioca, sweet potatoes, yams and such wild tubers and roots. Eating of raw or illcooked food, vegetables and animals often leads to digestive troubles. They prepare a very palatable soup from an assortment of wild roots, beans, salt and chillis. The tribes are reputed to be experts in the extraction of delicious beverages from rice and from some flowers.

With the once rich game preserve impoverished by the depredation of

man, and birds and fish so scarce, animal protein has become too costly for them. Meat is a very occasional luxury. Milk or ghee or dairy products are never a constituent of their food. Even children are denied any milk after the weaning period which is in the second year.

High rate of mortality and short expectation of life can be reasonably associated with such diet and such living conditions. Spirit-worship and superstitious habits have struck their roots so deep in them that it is idle to think of disabusing their minds of their notions of superhuman cure. The quack medication with herbs of the forest, handed down from generation to generation, with the sanction of usage and superstition, also makes its contribution to the misfortunes of these ill-fated mortals. The tribal areas suffer from an utter lack of health and medical service.

All these defects relating to tribal life, as now known, have been taken into consideration in drawing up the programme of welfare by the Government. Education is given high priority in the scheme as it is believed that the future of the tribes and the possibility of integrating the tribes into the wider life of the nation, is dependent upon the emergence of educated young tribals to work as teachers, instructors in handicrafts and better methods of agriculture and welfare workers. Facilities for education in literary and technical courses have to be provided. There are stipends and lump sum grants for students from the tribal community. The question of providing them with as much land as possible for cultivation and habitation, and with financial aid either as subsidy or loan for the development of agriculture and handicrafts through co-operative societies has also been considered in framing the scheme of amelioration. Welfare centres have been opened by the Government directly and under the auspices of the Servants of India Society in tribal areas and steps for opening new centres are being taken. Subsidies for improving their houses too have been provided. As an experiment, the right of collecting minor forest produce in two ranges, to begin with, is proposed to be leased to them without auction and worked through their Co-operative Societies.

The paucity, if not the entire absence, of game in these days has created a void in the economy of the tribes' life and as a compensatory measure, it would be worth their while to divert their attention to the conservation and development of the piscine wealth of the higher altitudes. The Mettur dam fishing is an inspiring example. In fact all the reservoirs can be converted into profitable fish-farms.

A mobile medical unit is already rendering free medical aid to some areas of hill tribes and more such units are proposed to be introduced in the course of this year. The tribes are responding to these ameliorative activities of the Government and it is hoped that there will be appreciable improvement in their socio-economic conditions at the end of the Second Five Year Plan period.

# TRIBAL EDUCATION





**SHRI G. D. TAPASE** (*Minister for Fishries & Backward Classes, Bombay*)

With the attainment of independence, the question of Tribal education has assumed increasing importance. Of the total population of 35.66 crores in the Indian Union, the Scheduled Tribes with a population of 1.91 crores form a substantial section. They are mostly cut off from civilization and lead a secluded and almost primitive life. India is now a democratic Republic wedded to the ideals of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Democracy will not be worth its name if all the citizens are not able to enjoy its fruits in an equal measure. No State in the Indian Union can, therefore, allow a large section of its population to remain steeped in poverty and ignorance and become victims of exploitation. It is the duty of every State to tackle boldly and solve quickly the problem of tribal education so that these erstwhile ignorant and illiterate masses will be able to occupy an honourable place in society and enrich it with their contribution.

The problem of educating the Scheduled Tribes is by no means easy. To achieve the objective in view, we must approach this problem with imagination, understanding and determination. At the outset a careful survey of the existing position must be made with the object of ascertaining the difficulties encountered. Remedial measures will then have to be thoughtfully planned and finally a drive with all sorts of weapons—from persuasion to compulsion, and with all kinds of agencies, government, semi-government, or non-government, will have to be launched and pressed home till the citadel of illiteracy is eventually conquered.

In this paper I propose to deal with the difficulties that are likely to be experienced in promoting education among the Scheduled Tribes and the remedial measures by which these difficulties can best be overcome. The observations and conclusions therein are based on our experience of Adivasi schools in the Bombay State. The Scheduled Tribes with a population of 33.59 lakhs constitute 9.34 percent of the total population and 30 per cent of the Backward Class population in the Bombay State. Till 1942, very little attention was paid to the question of tribal education. In that year an Ad Hoc Committee was appointed by Government to suggest measures for promotion of education among the Backward Classes. On the recommendations of this Committee, certain areas predominantly inhabited by these tribes were designated as Backward areas, a fund of Rs. 25 lakhs was set apart for the uplift of these areas in five years.

Special facilities in the shape of hostels, craft schools, attendance prizes,

midday meals, etc. were provided to Backward Class pupils—particularly Adivasi pupils in these areas. In 1947, the Government appointed committees in a few districts to carry out a survey of the backward tracts in these districts and suggest a programme for educational expansion in these areas. The report of the Survey Committee in the Thana District was received in 1948 and on the recommendation of that committee, compulsory education was introduced in Adivasi villages with a population of 500 and over. So far 116 schools under the compulsory education scheme have been opened in that district. In Panch Mahals District, 26 additional schools have been similarly opened. Due to financial stringency it was not possible to implement the recommendations of the Survey Committees in other districts. Seventy Ashram Schools have been started in various parts and it is proposed to start every year ten such additional schools. The rate of grant to voluntary agencies maintaining hostels for Scheduled Tribes pupils has been raised from 60 percent to 80 percent.

Primary teachers in the tribal areas are given a special pay of Rs. 5 p. m. subject to the condition that attendance in their schools is at least 50% of the average number of pupils on the rolls. Education at all stages—primary, secondary, collegiate, technical, industrial and professional is given to them free and deserving scholars get scholarships in addition. The Bombay Govt. has been spending roughly an amount of Rs. 48.64 lakhs on the education of these tribes. Despite the substantial expenditure, education among these tribes has not made much headway due to many difficulties. The problems and difficulties will differ from State to State, but there are certain problems of a common nature which must be confronting every State. It is these common problems which I propose to deal with in this paper.

#### CATEGORIES OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Scheduled Tribes can broadly be classified under the following three categories :-

- (1) Tribals who live in Urban area like Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, Godhra and are engaged in industries, vocations and services. These tribes have practically been assimilated with the rest of the population in these areas and have adopted the traits and general culture of the rest of the population. They, however, constitute an insignificant portion of the tribal population in any State. In the Bombay State such tribals constitute 6.51% of the total tribal population. They do not present any difficult problem.
- (2) Tribals who have more or less settled down in rural areas—plains and accessible hilly tracts—and have taken to agriculture and allied occupations. They are in the process of assimilation with the rest of popu-

lation. Though educational progress among these tribals is slow, the difficulties are not of a very serious magnitude.

- (3) Tribals who confine themselves to the original forest habitats and pursue primitive methods of agriculture and collection of raw forest produce like fruits, honey, leaves etc. Their habitats are almost inaccessible and they lead practically a primitive existence. Educational progress among them is almost nil. These tribals present the biggest problem. The difficulties are manifold and it is not possible to narrate all of them in this paper. I, therefore, propose to deal with some of the important difficulties and problems.

#### LACK OF SUITABLE ENVIRONMENT

The first problem in the field of tribal education is the creation of a suitable environment in which all the parties—the parent, the pupil and the teacher—participate enthusiastically in creating an atmosphere congenial to the progress of education. At present such atmosphere is conspicuous by its absence.

The tribal parents, it must be admitted, are not very enthusiastic about educating their children. They have their own tribal organisations and culture, their own customs and code of honour. They are honest, truthful, brave and chivalrous. They have their own folklore, songs and stories, proverbs and riddles, music and dances to amuse themselves during their spare hours. The culture, manners and customs in the plains are foreign to them and they are suspicious of the man from the town. The system of education, till recently in force, evolved by the Britishers to supply a large number of clerks and lower grade officers to carry on their administration, was foreign to their culture and did not impress them. Nay, there is a saying among the tribals in Maharashtra which means that if you remain an Adivasi, you will rule over the jungle; if you take to education like a Brahmin you will have to write and write and perish. Besides, owing to their abject poverty, the tribal parents consider their children to be an economic asset and expect them to work and add to the family earnings. They are consequently reluctant to send their children to school to receive an education, which in their opinion is not helpful and which keeps a child away for long hours and consequently results in diminution in the family income.

Nor is the pupil enthusiastic about education. Born and brought up in a free atmosphere, he finds himself in an altogether new atmosphere in the school with its discipline and long hours of instruction. Owing to poverty the parents cannot give him proper clothes and he is shy to attend the school in the scanty clothings which his parents can afford. Very often he has to attend school with an empty stomach and naturally he has neither the inclination

to school nor the capacity to grasp what has been taught. The school syllabus and the crafts in many cases are not properly adjusted to his surroundings with the result that he finds the instruction neither inspiring nor interesting.

The same is generally the case of teachers in tribal areas. A teacher in tribal areas has to stay in unfamiliar surroundings. Very often he has to maintain two establishments. The tribals are generally suspicious of the men from the towns. He has therefore to work in uncongenial surroundings. He has to do the difficult job of fighting the inertia on the part of the tribal parents and persuade them to send their children to school. The progress of education in these areas is necessarily slow and he is accordingly afraid of adverse remarks. Consequently a teacher from the plains is reluctant to work in the tribal areas and is anxious to get himself transferred away from such areas at the earliest opportunity.

The biggest problem in the field of tribal education is, therefore, to induce the parents to send their children to school, the children to attend the school regularly and the teacher to make tribal education the sacred mission of his life.

#### OBJECT OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

The second important problem in the field of tribal education is what should be the object of such education. Time has come to define the objective in clear and unmistakable terms. It is agreed on all hands that the system of education, till recently in force, is not suitable for the tribes. The type of education imparted thereunder tended to alienate and estrange the student from his community. The educated youth instead of being an asset to the village migrated to the adjoining towns and cities in search of jobs. This continuous migration and consequent impoverishment of our villages must be stopped. That can only be done by giving a reorientation to our educational system.

I think that tribal education to justify itself must conserve and develop the aboriginal culture and religion. It should reaffirm the tribal's faith in his culture and give him courage to defend himself against those elements of civilization that threaten to destroy or impoverish him. Simultaneously it should enable him to carve out a place for himself in the modern society and enrich it with his special contribution. From the utilitarian point of view, schooling must improve his income and his standard of living. After leaving the school, he must not find himself a misfit in his own environments, but an active, faithful and earning member of his tribe. The Basic education would therefore be most advantageous to the tribals.

While considering the introduction of basic or craft education in tribal areas, the following issues arise :—

- (a) Should there be the same syllabus and course of training for the tribals and non-tribals ?
- (b) What crafts should be introduced in tribal schools ?
- (c) Should the object be to impart education upto the full course of primary education (*i. e.* upto and inclusive of Std. VII) or only elementary education (*i. e.* upto Standard IV).

As regards the first issue, a point is often raised whether in view of the extreme educational backwardness of the tribals, we should not have a simpler course of training for them. I am against this suggestion. Intellectually, a tribal is in no way inferior to the man from the plains and can benefit from the education in an equal measure.

With regards to the second issue, tribal education must be related to tribal life. Carpentry, wood-carving, bamboo work, making of ropes and fish traps, agriculture, poultry and goat farming, bee-keeping and spinning and weaving are some of the crafts whose potentialities as a basic craft need to be investigated.

As regards the last issue, with the limited resources at our disposal, we cannot pitch our aim too high. Imparting of instruction upto the end of the elementary stage, *i. e.* Std. IV, should be our aim at this stage. This will at least ensure that every child has a continuous schooling of 4 years, has acquired literacy and having acquired it will not lapse back into illiteracy.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS

**Medium of instruction.**—One of the difficulties encountered in the field of tribal education is the language in which such education should be imparted. Fortunately the difficulty is not very acute in the Bombay State where the tribal dialects, *viz.* Bhillori etc. are not very different from the regional language. The problem will, however, be serious in areas where the tribal dialect is essentially different from the regional language. In such cases, if there is a demand for the instruction in a dialect, I think education upto the first two standards should be imparted in the tribal dialect and thereafter through the recognised regional language. This will ensure that a tribal child will not find himself in a foreign atmosphere immediately on entering a school, and having become used to school life, he will pick up and master more easily the regional language.

**Scattered villages.**—The tribals generally live in small villages

lets. Owing to the very small number of pupils expected to be under instruction, it is not an economic proposition to open a school there. In such cases it is necessary :—

- (a) to group these villages and open Central Schools : or
- (b) to open peripatetic schools ; or
- (c) to provide hostel facilities at central places.

**School hours.**—Owing to their poverty, the tribal parents expect their children to work and add to the family income. The school hours therefore will have to be arranged as to suit the convenience of the parents thereby enabling the children to help the parents outside the school hours.

**Inspection.**—The tribal schools are situated in out-of-the way places separated from each other by hills, rivers and brooks. Obviously they need efficient and effective supervision. The ratio of schools per inspecting officer in the plains, cannot be applied to tribal areas. The cadre of inspecting officers in the tribals area will necessarily have to be increased.

#### REMEDIAL MEASURES.

(1) **The teacher.**—The teacher is the pivot round which the educational administration hinges. The object of tribal literacy cannot be achieved by a corps of perfunctory and dissatisfied teachers. The teacher in the tribal areas must necessarily have a thorough knowledge of tribal life and culture and must have sympathy with their problems. He should not merely be able to teach the 3 R's. but should act as friend, philosopher and guide to the tribal community. The gulf between the teacher and the taught can best be removed by recruiting teachers from persons who belong to the tribal community and understand their language. In this connection it would be pertinent to mention that one of the great benefits likely to flood from Ashram school is a steady stream of Adivasi teachers and social workers. If such teachers are not available, an Adivasi bias should be given to a few training colleges and teachers trained from such colleges should be posted to tribal areas. They should be given, if necessary, a special pay in consideration of the difficult work which they have to do and further a special credit for meritorious service in tribal areas for the purposes of promotion and increments.

(2) **The pupil.**—Education should be imparted in the tribal dialects for the first two standards. The school hours should be adapted to suit the convenience of the parents and children. Midday meals may be supplied in poor tracts. Prizes for regular attendance and satisfactory progress may be given. The crafts to be taught in the school should be tuned to the surroundings.

(3) **The parents.**—After the school time is adapted to suit their convenience and crafts tuned to the surroundings are introduced, the parents will have no reasonable excuse for not sending their children to the school. Nevertheless to fight the apathy and inertia on the part of parents, intensive propaganda through official and non-official channels particularly the latter, will have to be carried out.

(4) The grade of the inspecting officers in tribal areas should be raised and they may, if necessary, be given additional remuneration in consideration of the difficult nature of the work which they have to do.

(5) Last but not the least important, Ashram schools in large number should be started. The contribution of the Ashram schools to tribal education cannot be over-emphasised. In these schools the pupils lead a corporate life under the sympathetic guidance and friendly company of their teachers. They receive an intensive course in basic and craft education and everything is done to develop their character, to encourage free thinking, to inculcate habits of neatness, orderliness and regularity and create in them a sense of civic responsibility and duty as a citizen. It is these schools, which, from the tribal children can produce teachers and leaders who will take up and pursue the cause of tribal progress with missionary zeal. In my view the Ashram school is the only long term solution not only to the problem of tribal education but also to the general uplift of the Schedule Tribes. The Adivasi is the best instrument for the improvement of the lot of a his community.

In Bombay we have so far started 17 Ashram schools. To start with these schools will take in 25 boys and 15 girls and every year 10 boys and 10 girls will be admitted.

#### ROLE OF NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES.

The non-official agencies can and should play a big part in the field of tribal education. As I have explained already the tribals generally live in scattered villages and hamlets where it is not an economic proposition for the Government or the local bodies to open schools. The non-official agencies can fill the vacuum and start their schools in such places. They can collect donations and contributions from the public and maintain the schools at a lesser cost. They can make a better appeal to the tribal parents and harness local enthusiasm in a better way than the government or semi-government machinery. Last, but not the least important, as they are inspired by an ideal, they can be relied upon to maintain these schools in a more idealistic manner.

#### ROLE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

As I have pointed out already, educational progress among the tribals is very slow. In order to accelerate the pace of tribal education and to raise the tribals to the level of the rest of the society within the shortest possible time



it will be necessary for the State Governments to incur huge additional expenditure year after year. The State Governments with their restricted sources of revenue will not be able to incur such additional expenditure unless the Central Government comes forth with a promise of very liberal financial assistance. Time has now come when the Central Government must express its readiness to bear a substantial portion—100% if need be—of the additional cost involved in educational advancement of the Scheduled Tribes.

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Paper No. 6

**RAJA NARESHCHANDRA SINGH**

*(Minister for Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh)*

Since 1952, a separate Ministry of Tribal Welfare and a separate Directorate assisted by adequate field organisers have been set up in Madhya Pradesh to deal exclusively with the tribal problems. Apart from other activities in the field, of economic betterment, communications, health, social welfare etc., considerable emphasis has been laid on the education of the tribals. All schools situated in the tribal areas—900 primary schools and 3 High Schools—have been transferred to direct management by the Tribal Welfare Department and it is expected that in course of time a much larger number of schools and other educational institutions will spring up.

While dealing with the educational problems of the tribals, the question of the medium of instruction has come to present certain practical difficulties which, it is the intention of this note to present for discussion in this Conference.

One accepted principle has been that the education of a child should, in the earlier stages, be in his own mother tongue. It, therefore, follows that the text-books and the teaching in the first two years of his primary stage should be in dialect of the tribal people. The first difficulty that presents itself in this connection arises out of the multiplicity of the tribal dialects spoken in the different parts of the State viz. Gond, Halbi and Korku in the Madhya Pradesh. Even within one dialect there are variations with the result that a Gond living in the North will not follow the dialect of the Gond living in the South. The question therefore, arises as to which dialect should be adopted in writing the text-books for the tribal schools.

Another problem is the difficulty with which a tribal boy taught in tribal dialect, will be confronted when he reaches the 3rd or the 4th class. It would be extremely difficult for him to change over to the regional languages, for example, Hindi and Marathi which are the medium of instruction in higher and middle classes in Madhya Pradesh.

The absence of text-books and teachers who may be employed to impart education in the tribal dialects is also a very serious handicap, more so when we take into consideration all the varieties of dialects prevalent in the State. Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that the percentage of the people speaking various dialects and requiring instructions in them, is comparatively small and would not perhaps justify a special syllabus in their respective dialects.

Lastly, it has to be remembered that the tribal dialects have no script of their own. The Devanagri as a script suffers from the handicap that in its present form it is incapable of reproducing the inflections and guttural sounds occurring in the tribal dialects. A good deal of time and effort would be needed to reproduce these inflections and sounds in Devanagri. Even if this could be done, the resultant vocabulary of the tribal child would be full of *sanyuktakshar* and *matras*. Instead, therefore, of using simple words, we would be introducing text-books full of difficult and complex words entailing unnecessary hardship for the young boys.

It would, therefore, appear that the principle of introducing the mother tongue as the medium of instruction during the first two years of a child's education is not capable of being implemented in practice. One possible solution might be that the text books should be in Hindi or Marathi languages but the teachers should be trained in the tribal dialects so as to enable them to converse with the boys freely in their mother tongue and convey the correct meaning of the words of the regional language in tribal dialects. This would, in practice be very much similar to the teaching of English through the medium of Hindi language. For this purpose we will have, in the first instance, to provide for the teaching of the tribal languages at the existing normal schools where the future teachers would be trained, to be utilized in the tribal schools. If this experiment is successful, it would avoid the difficulties of change-over of languages in the child's educational career and would solve the problem of production of text-books for the tribal schools.

As the question of medium of instruction is presenting considerable practical difficulties in the educational development of the tribal people, the Conference is requested to examine the connected problems in detail ; and in the light of experience gained in various States, evolve a policy for the guidance of the States concerned.

**Government of Assam**

Till the advent of independence, educational activities in the Tribal Areas of Assam were virtually the monopoly of the foreign Christian missionaries. The Government did not open any school in the tribal areas for a long time, as it was their policy to leave the tribal people to themselves in their primitive stage. As no Indian social or educational worker or organisation was allowed entry into the tribal areas, such individuals and organisations had absolutely no scope for educational activities among the tribal people. The foreign missionaries were the only privileged class, who, apart from the British officials, were allowed access and given facilities to work in the tribal areas. And it was their privilege therefore, to establish schools and bring the torch of education into these areas. Some of them took great pains to study the languages of the people among whom they worked, and develop the literature of those languages. They brought out translations of the Holy Bible and prepared text-books for the school children in the tribal languages in the Roman script. The knowledge of some of the missionaries in the tribal languages was profound, and a few of them prepared dictionaries and lexicons in them.

Even where the Government reluctantly decided upon making a small beginning in introducing education in the tribal areas, they deliberately adopted the policy of working, as far as possible, through the foreign missionaries. Grants-in-aid were sanctioned to the missionary institutions. In some cases, where schools were established out of Government revenues, foreign missionaries were appointed as the heads of those institutions. The responsibility of inspecting schools was entrusted to missionaries, who were appointed Honorary Inspectors of Schools for the purpose. The framing of the curricula to be followed in schools in the tribal areas was also left to them, and in many cases, the disbursement of grants-in-aid to privately managed schools was done through their agency.

Undoubtedly we owe a debt of gratitude to those early pioneers among the missionaries, who braving all the inconveniences and hazards of life in inaccessible and difficult areas cut off from civilisation, and lacking every amenity of modern existence, started schools for the tribal people and took great pains to develop the literature of the tribal languages. But naturally the text-books they wrote and the type of education they imparted, had little in common with the general current of Indian thought—much less nationalistic thought—and only reflected their own thought and outlook. In the process, it was inevitable that the people who received education under such auspices began to develop a sense of aloofness from the general Indian body politic.

Such was the background in the tribal areas on the advent of independence. However appropriate a set up of this nature would have been in the days of alien rule, it could not be continued in the new Independent India. Barriers of separation, suspicion and distrust, dividing the tribal areas from the rest of the country, sedulously created and maintained during the previous regime, had to be broken down. This could only be done by imparting the right type of education to the tribal people—the type of education which would make the tribal people take pride in feeling themselves one with the general Indian body politic, and at the same time enable them to develop themselves in a manner suited to their genius and considered best according to their own light.

The first step, therefore, was for the Government to take over, as far as practicable, the schools run by the missionaries and eliminate from the Government schools every trace of outside influence, and establish new schools in areas where they were needed. This has been done, and since the advent of independence 229 L. P. Schools, 36 M. E. Schools and 4 High Schools have either been taken over by the Government or newly established. Besides these institutions, there are 331 L. P. Schools, 93 M. E. and 15 High schools receiving aid from the Government. It was also equally important to appoint Government inspecting agencies, and thus replace the previous system of having schools inspected through missionary agencies. This has also mostly been accomplished.

Having assumed the primary responsibility for education in the tribal areas, the Government are faced with a situation in which there is dearth of the right type of text-books for use in the schools. The old text-books written by the missionaries, would no longer serve the purpose. These have to be replaced either by a judicious selection from among the books already in existence in the tribal languages, and wherever necessary by bringing out new books of the right type. The Government of Assam have, therefore, recently decided to constitute regional advisory committees in the different tribal districts to advise the Central Text-Book Committee in the selection of text-books for schools in the tribal areas out of the existing books in the tribal languages, and on the steps to be taken to prepare new text-books in the tribal languages, where suitable books are not already available.

The script to be adopted for the education of tribal people is a question on which more opinions than one are possible. The Roman script, was introduced by the foreign missionaries and has so far been used in the tribal areas of Assam. Whatever be its comparative advantage or disadvantage over other scripts common in India, it should be clear that any abrupt change, especially in the rather undeveloped state of the tribal languages today, is likely to

in a setback to the development of these languages and to education in these areas. We have also to appreciate the fact that the tribal people are generally conservative, and that they are prone to view with suspicion and disfavour any attempt to replace the script to which they have so long been used, by some thing different, however well-intentioned the attempt might be. For the present, therefore, the script to be adopted in these areas should be what has been in vogue there so far, namely the Roman script. In those areas where the Roman script is not in use, the Devanagari script could be adopted with much advantage.

The establishment of Autonomous District Councils in the tribal areas and the transfer to the Councils of the functions which now fall within their sphere, are matters which have to be taken note of in discussing the policy to be adopted in regard to education in the tribal areas. Under the Constitution, the policy in regard to primary education in the tribal areas, is to be decided by the District Councils in those areas. At the same time the State Government have the responsibility to make their past experience and specialised knowledge available to the District Councils, so that they may carefully weigh the pros and cons before deciding on any new policy. In formulating its primary education policy, the District Councils must ensure that such a policy is not totally at variance to the primary education policy being followed in the other areas of the state, otherwise the boys and girls who complete their L. P. Education in the tribal areas under the policy laid down by the District Councils, will find it difficult to fit in with the pattern of middle school education in the state, which continues to be the responsibility of the State Government. Thus even in the exercise of functions which are now under their purview, the Councils have to see that there is the necessary measure of co-ordination between the systems adopted in the tribal areas and those in the other areas of the State.

The medium of instruction in the lower primary schools in the tribal areas is generally the mother-tongue of the pupils. In the middle and high schools, the medium of instruction is partly the mother-tongue or local language and partly English. In some areas near to the plains and where the people have had opportunities of frequent social contacts with the people of the plains, the medium of instruction is Assamese. Because of the isolation of most of these areas in the past, the use of the regional language is not yet very common in some of them, though there are notable exceptions, as for instance in the Naga Hills, the different Naga tribes take recourse to the Assamese language to understand one another. In formulating a language policy for the schools in the tribal areas, one has to be extremely cautious so as not to engender a feeling in the tribal people that something to which they have not so far been used is being imposed on them.

It is to be expected that the tribal people themselves would sooner or later begin to appreciate the importance of the Assamese language for without a knowledge of it, they would find it difficult to maintain profitable contact or carry on trade or business in the areas of the state outside their own hills. At the same time, arrangements have also to be made to teach some of the tribal languages in the schools in the plains for developing better appreciation of the tribal culture and way of life and to facilitate better understanding. For the present, however, it would seem advisable to continue instruction in the middle and high schools through the medium of the local language and English or in other words keep the existing arrangements in tact. Facilities for the study of Assamese as an optional subject may at the same time be afforded in the schools in the tribal areas, so that the tribal boys and girls may avail of them to their advantage, if they so desire. The teaching of Hindustani has been made compulsory in a number of schools in the tribal areas, and provision is being made to introduce it in all the Government middle and high schools in the tribal areas with effect from the next academic year. It is an encouraging sign that the tribal people take kindly to the study of Hindustani. When the local language develops sufficiently or where the teaching of Hindustani and the regional language has taken a firm root in the tribal areas, the time would be ripe for progressively replacing English as the medium of instruction by the local language, Hindustani or the Regional language as the case may be. A decision in this regard will have to await the experience to be gained during the coming years.

The curricula to be followed in the schools in the tribal areas is most important. The nature of the curricula should be such that a boy or girl as a result of study should be enabled to settle in a useful occupation in his/her own area. What is essential is that the education should not make the boy or girl feel a stranger in the midst of his or her own people. To ensure the achievement of these objectives, it is essential that education in the tribal areas should have a vocational bias. The choice of the vocation in each area would depend on the circumstances prevailing in that particular area. For instance, practical agriculture of the type which could most profitably be introduced in an area should form one of the most important items of the curriculum in the schools in that particular area. Where the object is to wean the people away from *jhumming* and introduce the terrace system of cultivation, the boys and girls should be trained to make terraces and learn the benefits of such a system through their own experience. Similarly where the economy of a particular area makes the introduction of new food or cash crops desirable, it would be necessary to impart training in the cultivation of such new crops in the schools in that area. Likewise in areas where the materials for a profitable cottage or small-scale

industry, which would command a good market are available, the curriculum in the schools in that area should provide for training in those cottage industries. It is always easy to introduce new ideas in a society by making a beginning with the impressionable school-going boys and girls.

By the emphasis laid on the vocational bias, it is not intended that the academic side of education be not given due importance or ignored. It is of the utmost importance that the academic side is not neglected, and there is every need for maintaining uniform standards in this regard between schools in the tribal areas, and elsewhere in the State. The thirst for education in the tribal areas being strong, and the response to the efforts to spread education in these areas having been most encouraging, it is to be expected that increasing number of girls and boys from the tribal areas would go in for higher academic and technical education in the coming years. It is important to encourage them to go in for higher education, especially in technical subjects, as there is a pressing need for teachers, doctors, compounders, engineers and other technicians in these areas. The experience has been that in the conditions prevailing in these areas today, people from outside are not attracted to service there. The gap could be filled only by training the tribal people themselves in the professions in which trained personnel are needed.

To enable the tribal people to take advantage of the facilities offered for advance academic and technical education, it is necessary that scholarships and stipends should be provided to them in a liberal measure. Already a large number of scholarships have been provided for tribal boys and girls, for the high school, collegiate and technical courses. The number of such scholarships requires to be increased still more. The value of the scholarships may also have to be increased, as otherwise these boys and girls being poor, will not be able to maintain themselves at the places where the institutions are located.

As has already been stated, lower primary education in the tribal areas now falls within the purview of the elected Autonomous District Councils set up in those areas. Normally every village should have its L.P. Schools maintained by the village itself with the assistance of the District Council or Government. But so far as middle schools are concerned, it is essential to ensure that they do not grow like mushrooms in a haphazard fashion. In order to attract a sufficient number of boys and girls, as also to attract the right type of teachers, who are not many, it is necessary that the number and location of middle schools in a particular area be carefully considered and determined. There has, of late, been an unhealthy tendency in some tribal areas, for middle schools to grow up like mushrooms. Village and clan rivalries have in some cases been responsible for the establishment of middle schools in neighbouring villages, and there have

been cases where three or four middle schools have come into existence within a radius of two or three miles. The experience with such schools has been, that while in the initial upsurge of enthusiasm, the villagers start such schools by raising subscriptions from themselves, they find it most difficult to staff them up to the proper standards with qualified and trained teachers, and otherwise equip them properly. The organisers of such schools then start competing with each other in petitioning for grants. With the limited funds available to the Government, it proves difficult to grant every such request, and even if such a step is to be attempted the amount of grant-in-aid which could be sanctioned to any school would fall far short of its needs. Some of the schools cease to function in the process, while some continue an impoverished existence. The sufferers in all cases are the students. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that middle schools do not come into being haphazardly.

Middle schools should be so located, that they can serve a sufficiently large number of villages and draw on pupils passing out from several village L.P. Schools. They should be staffed with teachers of the requisite qualifications and training, and equipped with hostels and boarding-houses, so that pupils from far away villages could stay there and attend the school. Government grants to a middle school should be sanctioned only after the educational authorities have satisfied themselves that the particular school is properly located, benefits a number of villages, is staffed and equipped according to the standard laid down, and is imparting instructions of the prescribed standard. Otherwise, funds are likely to be frittered away, benefiting none. So far as the establishment of high schools is concerned, there is need for even greater caution. The resources which the establishment of a high school demand, in funds, personnel and equipment are normally beyond the scope of a village or even a group of villages in the tribal areas. When such a high school at all comes into being, it suffers for want of trained teachers of the proper quality, equipment and accommodation. The sufferers are those who seek education at such schools. As far as practicable, it would seem desirable that the high schools in the tribal areas which should normally be restricted to one in a sub-division, should be established by the Government. Alternatively the establishment of such high schools could be left to non-official organisations of standing which could command the necessary financial resources for the purpose. Wherever necessary, such non-official organisations should be given adequate grants-in-aid.

Due to the small density of population, and the poor communications in these areas, it is essential that a single middle school or high school should cater



to the requirements of a large area, and as such facilities have to be provided for the boys and girls to stay at the school. Apart from the necessity to provide hostels, there are other important considerations for which the boarding-school pattern is to be preferred in these areas. For one thing, if the boys and girls stay at the school premises, they could be trained to utilise the spare hours in useful occupations like agriculture, cultivation of vegetables etc. Their services could also be utilised, wherever necessary, to repair or build hostel and school buildings. They could thus be trained to become self-reliant, learn crafts and useful vocations and in the process, economy could be effected in the expenditure on running the school and in maintaining the hostels. Above all, under the supervision of the right type of hostel superintendents, they could be trained to lead disciplined lives, neat and clean, and evince a keen interest in Indian culture, which they could be enabled to imbibe through discussions and discourses, in a healthy atmosphere not ordinarily available in the average tribal village.

Much will depend on the choice of the right type of teachers and their proper training. It is desirable that the teachers in the schools in the tribal areas should be drawn both from the tribal areas, as also from the neighbouring plains, so that the boys and girls attending the schools do not grow up in an isolated or exclusive atmosphere. The teachers from outside should be carefully chosen, and only those who will cheerfully brave the hard conditions in the tribal areas, mix with the tribal people, and will feel among them as one of them, should be selected. It must be remembered that these teachers will literally function as ambassadors, and on their conduct will depend the good-will which can be forged and developed between tribal people and the rest of the people in the State. The teachers elected should have a clear picture of the problems of the tribal areas and the psychology of the tribal people, and be imbued with a zeal to serve. If they do not have the necessary background, they will prove misfits and are likely to do much harm. They should be given handsome allowances to compensate for the arduous nature of the life which they have to lead, and for the lack of amenities with which they will have to put up.

Planned tours of pupils from the tribal areas to places of interest in the plains, and their contacts with the students of the plains during such tours, would be most useful. Scouting camps, held under the auspices of the National Cadet Corps, and camps organised for the execution of works beneficial to the community in which students from both the tribal and non-tribal areas of the State participate, would help a great deal in forging the necessary good-will between the tribal people and others, and enable them to understand and appre-

ciate each other's problems and points of view better. Impressions gained during student days last throughout life. In order to bring the tribal people closer to their brethren in the country, nothing would be more helpful than bringing the students from the hills and plains together and weld them in the achievement of a single desirable objective.

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*Paper No. 8*

Shri T. Sanganna M. P. (Orissa)

Government have been very keen on the tribal education, but the steps taken so far are not commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. At present the Government have opened some schools in the tribal areas in order to give education of basic type. The nature and form of education imparted through these schools is not appreciated by the tribal people. In these schools vocation through education is taught to the Adivasi children. The reason why this system of education is not appealing to the Adivasis is that the same kinds of vocations are the callings of the Adivasis, though of course in a crude and indigenous way. In the light of the knowledge gained through contact with these schools, it has been found necessary to lay more stress on general education. In the absence of general education it is not possible to enlighten the Adivasis on the modern set-up of things. The education through schools specially designed and run for Adivasis may not take them beyond accomplishment of their occupations. In clear terms, it means that an Adivasi carpenter will become a good carpenter, an Adivasi weaver will become an expert in weaving, an Adivasi agriculturist will become good at agriculture, and so on and so forth. There is no all round improvement of the Adivasis as a whole. It is my humble and sincere opinion that this type of education may be commendable only to people who discard labour. It conveys no idea to teach the value of labour to a community which is born of it and thrives on it. If the Government wants that Adivasis should also take their rightful place in free India, the kind of education now being given to the Adivasis in different parts of the country will land them nowhere.

On account of this feeling, the system of education, which has been expounded by the outstanding administrator and seasoned politician Shri C. Rajagopalachari and which is similar to the one meant for Adivasis now, has been received in Madras State with a mixed admiration. The net result was that this system of education could not be introduced in the State successfully. If at all it was introduced in any part of the State, it was scraped altogether subsequent

to the retirement of Shri C. Rajagopalachari from the Indian politics. This system could not be helped although the expert committee under the chairmanship of Shri Parulekhar has commended it to the Government. So, however sound and admirable a system of education may it be to the administration, it shall fall through if the people who are to get benefit from it do not take sufficient interest in it. These Adivasi schools have been there since the country attained independence. Though the schools opened for Adivasis in different parts of the country may differ in some details, fundamentally and objectively they are of the same type and design. Practically seven years have passed. The progress made by these schools in the educational sphere of the Adivasis is not up to the mark. Every year, the Government have been spending thousands of rupees for the upkeep of these institutions. The outturn of these institutions, to say the least, is hopelessly poor. Instead of creating an atmosphere of appreciation by the Adivasis, it creates an ill-feeling towards the other advanced sections of the people. There would have been no room for such recriminatory feeling had there been no seclusive ear-making for Adivasis. When it is the intention of the Government to bring them up in line with other advanced classes of the country, things of this type may not take the Government to that goal. In order to achieve the object in view, the Adivasi students must be mixed up with pupils of the advanced communities so that they get the benefit which the other students have. It is therefore highly expedient to set up a committee to go into the merits and demerits of the present system of education. Though the report of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is sent to the Government every year, it is not so exhaustive as to throw sufficient light on this aspect of the question.

With the attainment of freedom, the people irrespective of any other consideration have got adult franchise. In the democratic system of government, every citizen has a right to express his will on the ways of working of the various units of government. As the people are ignorant and illiterate, they have been duped in so many ways by the contesting political parties in the elections. Had the people possessed good education, they could not have been misled. As the Adivasis form bulk of the electorate in some of the States, the political parties contesting in such States misuse them in their own ways. As a matter of fact, most of the Adivasi electorates in the last General Elections have been made to cast their votes in favour of the parties which they do not like to support. In some of the interiors of the country where there is no light of knowledge whatsoever, the Adivasis are still in the dark about the attainment of freedom. They are still under the impression that foreign rule is on the land. When the matters stand like this, the present system of education will

lead them nowhere. It is an admitted fact that democratic system of government is hardest of all types of government on the face of the earth. Democracy will thrive only when the people are highly and properly educated. Every policy and programme of democratic government has to be introduced among the people after discussion, persuasion and understanding. How is it possible on the part of the Adivasis to understand the implications of the working of government ? In the circumstances stated above, I opine that if the Government want that the Adivasis should also be real partners in the administration of the country, they should be given more of general education. So long as the country was under foreign rule, the Adivasis were not represented in any department of the Government. As a result of this, even now they are deprived of such facilities. I am, therefore, of the view that as long as academic qualifications are required for occupying posts in the various departments of the Government, the Adivasi students must be given more facilities in that direction, so that they can compete with other advanced sections of the nation.

The Government have prescribed the representation percentage for the Adivasi candidates in the various services. This is of no value or benefit to the Adivasis because suitable candidates are not available. This kind of situation compels the Government to fill up these vacancies with candidates of other sections. So it is meaningless to give concessions and facilities to those who have no capacity to avail themselves of them. The State as well as the Central Governments give stipends to Adivasi students who take their education in high schools and colleges. The financial assistance given to these students is insufficient for prosecuting their studies successfully as most of them are poor and have to entirely depend on the stipends they receive from the Government. When they find that they cannot make their both ends meet, they are constrained to discontinue their studies. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government should take more liberal attitude in the matter of granting stipends to the Adivasi students.

The Adivasi students who study in schools and colleges are the students of the elementary schools meant for general education. None of them has so far, to my knowledge, come from the Adivasi schools. For this reason, the Adivasi schools serve in no way the Adivasi community. Even if it is argued that the students of these Adivasi schools are good in the vocational field, the moment they are out of these schools they forget completely whatever they have been taught. They are what they were before, and they get themselves absorbed in the usual stock of Adivasis. They are b neither this way nor that. If they had been given general they could at least be of some help in the dissemination of

among the Adivasis. The general knowledge gained in the Adivasi schools is of so low a standard that it does not enlighten even the students themselves, let alone the masses. Above all, most of the Adivasi students cannot afford to go to the schools and colleges after the completion of their studies in the Adivasi schools. With this fact in view, it is absolutely necessary that the standard of general education of the Adivasi schools must be made sound and high. In order to achieve this object, more attention must be given to the general education. More students should be encouraged to continue their education in schools and colleges so that in the generations to come the Adivasis will be well-represented in all spheres of Government. In any other case, it is not possible to expect good co-operation and genuine sympathy in undertaking the various economic programmes in the country. Under the present circumstances the Government is not able to get the maximum benefit from the Adivasi human material. Due to lack of education they are not able to think of anything seriously and they waste away their energy and capacity in most unproductive way of life. To canalise them in constructive direction, education is the only driving force.

There are so many pernicious customs observed by the Adivasis due to ignorance and lack of education. In some areas of the country, Adivasis still go about naked. The social workers, who devote themselves to the cause of Adivasis, have so far not been able to prevail upon them to shake off the old and uncivilised customs and habits. The result may be good if the Government concentrate attention on the areas where such people live. Education of general nature would go a long way in solving such problems. Adivasis migrating from such areas to the other advanced parts of the country get themselves refined to the present-day tastes and liking. It is, therefore, clear that education will throw sufficient light to dispel the savage and superstitious beliefs and conventions. It has been observed that schools for Adivasis are opened at places near the road-side, where the Adivasis are in position to understand themselves and their neighbours. In opening schools for Adivasis, priority should be given to places which are far removed from the mainland.

The Government may be aware of exploitation of the Adivasis in so many ways in the worst form. Due to illiteracy and ignorance, the Adivasis are not able to protect themselves from this age-long evil. When the foreign rule was on the land, no attempt whatsoever was made to root out such evil ; on the other hand it was rather encouraged in the interest of administration. Some of the officers of the foreign regime are still in the habit of taking advantage of such exploitation. Even the Government of the day, which is keen on eliminating exploitation

by so many rigorous measures, are not able to protect the uneducated Adivasis. The three R's of education will stand the Adivasis in good stead. The ordinary knowledge gained through education will make the Adivasis self-conscious and conscious of things around them.

The teaching staff recruited for the Adviasi schools is of temperament adverse to the interests of the Adivasis. So the selection of educational workers for the Adviasi area should be very judicious and in the background of social service and selfless sacrifice. According to my information, people who have no experience of dealing with Adviasi problems and having an attitude unfavourable to the Adivasis' cause, are appointed in such schools. It is also known that many candidates fresh from schools and colleges have been absorbed in these institutions with a view to solve the unemployment problem. In some States, it so happens that whoever is found unsuitable in other fields of service, manages to enter these schools by hook or by crook. These institutions have rather become stepping stones to other walks of life. The Government may, therefore, be serious to avoid undesirable elements in the Adviasi institutions. Adivasis by nature are very sensitive. Any misbehaviour on the part of foreign element will be construed as hostile to their freedom and liberty.

In pursuance of the aims and objects of the Indian Constitution, decentralization of power is taking place. Consequently every citizen has to shoulder the brunt of administration. The uneducated and ignorant Adivasis may not be expected to properly and adequately represent themselves in all the units of administration. It is therefore, found absolutely necessary to constitute reservation of seats in Assemblies and Parliament. On the contrary, through decentralisation the entire administration may come directly to the people who could manipulate things by dint of their advantageous position in the society. Much harm will be done to the people who have no courage and voice to withstand the mischievous machinations of the anti-social elements. In view of this position it behoves the Government to observe the directive principle of State policy for safeguarding the interests of the Adivasis at the village and district levels of administration. More attention should be devoted by the Government to the reconstruction of the country's economy from that level. More safeguards are necessary until the Adivasis stand on their own legs. The representatives in the State and the Centre may not be in a position to look to the interests of the Adivasis at that level.

Besides education through institutions, it is also of great help to the Adivasis if arrangements are made to enlighten them by means of visual equipments. At present the Adivasis are not educated enough to grasp things

and assimilate them through the study of literature and other documents: As the education through visual aid is very impressive, betterment of the Adivasis can be brought about by demonstrations and exhibitions of magic lantern slides. The Government should make sufficient arrangements for the supply of magic lantern slides and other documentary films. If you want to impress upon the Adivasis the working of the Five Year Plan and other economic programmes, assistance of the visual equipment has to be taken. It is very difficult to explain things to these uneducated Adivasis through speeches and lectures. The missionaries who work in the tribal areas generally take the help of such equipment to propagate their aims of the mission. They also use charts and pictures with a view to bring home their object to the Adivasis. So all these aspects have to be taken into consideration for spreading education among the Adivasis.

The culture, art and other aesthetic qualities are not being brought to light due to lack of education among the Adivasis. So the Government would do well to give them a helping hand to develop and bring their culture and art to the lime-light. On the occasion of celebration of the Republic Day, only the dance and music aspects have been given opportunities for exhibition to the public. The other aspects such as culture, customs and their mode of life are to be talked of, so that these aspects can be refined to the modern standards of life. It is, therefore, hoped that in the succeeding functions of the Republic Day, all these things will be included in the programmes of performance by the Adivasis.

The Government are aware that the tribal people of the country have got a number of dialects, written or un-written. On account of this variation, the tribal culture could not be consolidated with the result that no unity, either economic or social, could be brought about so far. As it is understood that the Government are anxious to find social and economic unity as far as possible, among the Adivasis, some method requires to be evolved in this direction. Unless there is a common medium, it is not possible to achieve unity and integrity of the Adivasis living all over the country. In this belief, it is my humble opinion and also suggestion that some dialect of written character is necessary. I think, Devanagiri script which is also the script of our national language, namely, Hindi will serve the purpose in question.

It is my information that in some States steps have already been taken to teach the tribal language to persons working in the Adivasis areas. If there is no such arrangement, I am afraid, that the languages spoken by the different classes of Adivasis in the country will be obliterated in course of time. During the passage of some centuries, the languages which have unwritten dialects have undergone so many changes that Adivasis living in the areas near to the plains have lost touch with their ancestral language. This is a great loss to the Adivasis

because this is one of the heritages which they have inherited from their ancestors and is typical of Adivasis.

In fine I recall to the memory of the Government that all these concessions and preferences are to be available only for a period of ten years beginning from 1950. That means half of the period has already elapsed. So whatever improvement the Government have in view has to be done within the remaining period of five years. Afterwards the appeal and entreaty of Adivasis will be a cry in the wilderness. I, therefore, urge the Government with all humiliation to take into consideration all my suggestions in evolving and framing the future programmes for education for Adivasis.





# TRIBAL CULTURE



Paper No. 9Government of Assam.

We have always spoken of a tribal culture but it is rather difficult to explain it. Perhaps it can be said that the culture of a tribe is most visibly displayed in its music and dances. It is always said that the tribes of Assam are varied and colourful, and this is true. It is equally true that the culture of each tribe is distinct from that of the other as seen through their music and dance. The dance of the Khasi maidens, solemn and beautiful, is as different from the fine and vigorous bamboo dance of the Lushai maidens as the European waltz is from the Hawaiian Hula dance. The war-like dance of the various Naga tribes, Konyaks, Kacha, Angamis, is again very much different from the dances of the other tribes in other districts of the State. Self-governing institutions, special marriage system and other social customs and practices, way of worshipping nature and special kinds of dress, arts and crafts may also be regarded as constituting what is generally known as the tribal culture.

During the British regime there was a tendency for the old dances to die out. Actually some of them, like the maiden dance of the Jaintias in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District have died out. The reason is not for to seek. In those days, there was absolutely no encouragement to improve these dances, rather they were looked down upon. The educated are influenced by the western modes of music and dance. The dances survived, however, because the masses who are not educated still cling to them. The spell and influence of the western culture are demonstrated most in the music of the tribals as taken up by the educated section among them. The majority of the educated persons among the tribals are those who have adopted Christianity as their religion. Those converted to Christianity sing their religious hymns in their own vernacular but set to western music. Naturally they take to western music even in ordinary songs. The books they read in their schools in the lower classes were first written by the foreign missionaries who put their own thoughts, ideas and ideals in those books which, as could be expected, have no relation with the native thoughts and ideals of the tribes. The examples set forth in those books of a life desirable to be lived are hitched in the standard of the West. The majority of the tribal literates are not so educated as to be able to read books written in languages other than their own vernacular. They do not have the scope to learn the ideas, thoughts and ideals of other people in the rest of India. Actually they know little or nothing of them. These people therefore, naturally try to imitate western mode of life and so they compose songs set to western tunes and play the musical instruments of the West. This is, of course, confined mostly to urban areas only and to those who are more educated. The majority still take to their own indigenous music and musical instruments though they are apt to copy what the more educated do.

With the advent of independence and with the setting up



**SHRI SHANKAR DEO, VEDALANKAR,**

*(Deputy Minister, Social Services, Hyderabad, Deccan.)*

It is perfectly in fitness of things that India which struggled for an all round independence should give a profound thought to the welfare and development of the tribal population. The Constitution of India in Article 46 lays down :—

“the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

Accordingly, the Government of India did a creditable job in creating the post of a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of providing better facilities for implementing the grant-in-aid schemes in the States. This, I am sure, has given a fillip to speeding up the pace of integrating the neglected groups of the tribals. A cursory look at the progress made by the different concerned states in the field of tribal welfare, as a sequel to the Constitutional safeguards and financial assistance by the Government of India to promote the well-being of the tribals, will not fail to inspire a sense of hope for a great success. But what remains undone is great indeed.

I quite realise that revolutionary changes in a static community cannot be brought about in a day. Grant-in-aid is a proper source. It is given by Government in an impersonal manner, but when its application to the practical work is manipulated by personal care, there arise some practical difficulties which have to be surmounted from the experience gained. I am of the opinion that I will be doing injustice to the tribals if I fail to record the small but important flaws that ultimately go to handicap the higher ideals and aspirations that guided the Government of India to take up such schemes.

The Central Government have fixed a time limit of ten years to bring about the integration of tribals with those technologically advanced. We have covered about half the distance, but I am not sure if we have finished half the work. No doubt this is not constructing a dam across a river or raising a research laboratory. We are dealing with human beings and to raise the man that has fallen down, the human calculations and estimates may not be accurate. Still Governmental aids so far granted and the work so far done, can enrich our knowledge as to how to improve the schemes for better and speedier results. Shall we tackle social and economic uplift simultaneously so that the aim of integration with the advanced communities could be realised at the fixed target or shall we handle only one problem that of our faith on the recent discovery of co-existence.

possible sequence ? If it is the intention of the Central Government that under all circumstances the tribals should be uplifted with a speedy change in education, economy and social structures, I think, it is necessary that we study the following suggestions with dispassionate outlook.

A welfare programme which envisages major change in certain human groups, involving entire outlook and socio-economic set up, need necessarily be systematic, gradual, and in harmony with their needs and requirements. These points can be properly assessed by different State Governments in co-operation with the Regional Commissioners, and on the assessment thus made should depend the grant-in-aid given by the centre. One of the main points that very often occurs to me is that the present resources of the state do not generally allow appointment of a team of trained social workers exclusively entrusted with the task of such research, evaluation and assessment and the administrative machinery being preoccupied with implementing the details of the schemes do not normally get enough time to go deeper and study the background of the problem on which to base programme of action. To make the best use of the scheme of the grant-in-aid from the Centre, it is therefore essential that some such machinery is created, if required, by the Government of India itself as a part of national reconstructional programme. I would like to emphasise the fact that, looking to the intensity of the problem, it is equally important, to allot more funds for tribal welfare than are present being given.

The welfare programmes for the tribals, as have already been discussed and generally approved in different conferences, include construction of roads in tribal areas, schools and educational facilities, vocational training, arts and crafts, promotion of gainful occupations like agriculture and cattle breeding, health and medical facilities, better housing etc. In fact this programme covers almost all items of social welfare and national reconstruction. As emphasised, this programme, if to be successful, requires simultaneous work on all these aspects. A piecemeal and fragmented approach inevitably results in unbalanced development and newer conflicts. And this is the very thing which should at all costs be avoided. On this thesis is based my argument for more grants-in-aid from the Centre so as to enable the State Government to implement an integral programme of action covering all aspects of tribal welfare.

Under the present circumstances with limited State resources and also limited Central grants, it has been found difficult to organise an all-embracing programme. The result inevitably is that there seems to be a very slow and sometimes unbalanced development of tribal areas. Therefore, my first appeal is to enhance the fund and give more grants-in-aid from the Centre, otherwise to restrict work to certain limited aspects of social uplift leaving the rest. But in this case we will reach our goal very late.

The other extremely important point is that the present system of allotment of grants is rather unsuitable. They are released by the Government of India in quarterly or half-yearly instalments which causes undue inconvenience and involves many complications from the accounts point of view. For instance, when the total grant-in-aid from Government of India is Rs. 1,00,000, and released in four instalments of Rs. 25,000/- each, it becomes extremely difficult to break up the amount on different schemes. The Accountant-General, on this basis, releases only one-fourth of the total grant and therefore many useful items cannot be implemented when they are urgently required. An example which can explain the situation is that there is a particular season for construction of houses, roads etc. It is to be taken up only in the beginning of financial year i. e. between April and June, for, not only it becomes difficult to find cheap labour subsequently on setting in of agricultural season but it also becomes impossible to take up construction during the rains. The amount coming in instalments, therefore, makes it extremely impracticable to take up a particular work at a period when the grants are made available. So also some funds coming for agriculture after the season is over are naturally untimely and can not be utilised to the best advantage. The result is that year after year, most of the budget lapses leaving the work undone or half done. Discontinuity or lull in work leads to disappointment and frustration among the tribals. This generally creates doubts and misapprehensions in their minds and leads to loss of goodwill and co-operation and results ultimately in a passive and detached participation of the tribals in the programmes. It is, therefore, suggested that the Government of India should release the entire amount at the beginning of the year so as to enable the State Government to implement the schemes well.

It has also been a normal experience that on several occasions, due to administrative and organisational difficulties beyond control, a substantial sum remained unutilised and lapsed to the Government. It sometimes happens that due to some inherent difficulties generally met in tribal areas, the construction work progresses but slowly. Just when it is half complete, financial year closes, lapsing the unspent amount. The work thus gets a complete setback, halts half-way, all to the great disappointment of tribals. I would like to suggest that Government of India should make available this unspent and lapsed sum in subsequent year so that work already taken in hand is completed and the targets achieved.

Again, whenever a scheme for the uplift of tribals in a certain area is sent by the State Government, the Central Government splits up the scheme into several sections and sends the sections, such as education, buildings and roads, co-operative societies etc. to the concerned departments for their <sup>action</sup>. These departments in their turn, take their own sweet



opinion from their point of view without taking the trouble to understand whether or not what they have suggested is in consonance with the environments of the tribals. Since these departments have no experience of the conditions and life of the tribals, their suggestions will not be in keeping with the life and necessities of the tribals. I therefore suggest that all such schemes should be finalised through the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under whom there are capable Regional Assistant Commissioners. These well-trained officers with the assistance of State Departments concerned can very efficiently manage the schemes expeditiously so as to suit the environments of the tribals. By following this method, quick work will be done, lapsing of funds eliminated and red-tapism avoided.

Lastly I feel that Government of India should also give funds for expansion of the existing schemes and creation of new ones in view of the necessity caused in the process of integration. The present system of giving funds on the understanding that a matching sum should be contributed by the State is impracticable. Under the financial stringency, normally the State Government is not in a position to give any extra funds. The result is that old schemes which require expansion, due to progress in the past several years, remain unchanged and become stale and moribund. A dynamic programme like this requires changes as and when necessary, and unless funds on grant-in-aid basis are provided by the Government of India, I am afraid, there is not going to be any further progress than the mechanical execution of schemes.

These are a few suggestions and recommendations and if they are implemented, I am sure, most of our troubles will end and a smooth working ensured.

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### Paper No. 11

#### **Government of Assam.**

One of the directive principles of State Policy laid down in the Constitution is that "the State shall promote with special care the educational, social and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". To give effect to the aforesaid directive, Article 275 of the Constitution has provided for grants-in-aid out of the Consolidated Fund of India to augment the resources of the State Governments for taking up all round development programme to promote the welfare of such tribes and to raise the level of administration in the tribal areas to that of the other areas of the State. A time limit of 10 years has been prescribed for the achievement of this two-fold objective.

The development problem is not so vast and difficult in the plains tribal areas as compared with that of the hills tribal areas. The total

population of the plain tribals in Assam according to 1951 Census is 6,96,525 and the entire population is scattered over all the plains districts. They mostly live in areas adjoining reserve forests and submountainous and riverine areas. Their present backwardness is due primarily to poverty, illiteracy, poor communication system and general unhealthiness of the areas inhabited by them. Our development programme under Article 275 is therefore to concentrate on the following problems in these areas :-

- (1) Expansion of educational facilities which includes establishment of new primary and basic schools where they are not existent, giving increased grants-in-aid to the existing secondary schools which cater to the needs of the plain tribals so as to enable the school authorities to improve the staff and better equip these schools and also to extend existing school and hostel accommodation, increasing the number of free student-ships and scholarships for the plain tribal students in all stages of education—both academical and vocational—and increasing the hostel accommodation in the existing colleges.
- (2) Connecting the plain tribal areas with the existing principal road system of the state so as to facilitate marketing the agricultural products of these tribes.
- (3) Development of the existing cottage industries of these tribes which are mainly weaving, spinning and silk rearing by introducing improved methods of production, so as not only to make them self-sufficient in clothing but also to make these cottage industries a source of additional income.
- (4) Expansion of medical and public health facilities by establishing new government and subsidised dispensaries, and sinking wells.
- (5) Establishment of increased number of social education centres for turning out more literates and educating the tribals on the evil effects of addiction to alcoholic drinks and other harmful practices.
- (6) Expansion of the social services undertaken by non-official organisations by giving adequate financial aids.
- (7) Encouraging them to take up self-help projects designed to benefit the community as a whole by giving financial assistance.
- (8) Expansion of co-operative organisations both in respect of credit and multipurpose societies to save these tribals from the clutches of the greedy money-lenders.
- (9) Expansion of the activities of the veterinary and animal husbandry department for improvement of the cattle wealth.
- (10) Fostering development of indigenous art and music by in-aid to recognised cultural associations.

Due to the continued closed door policy of the British Government, which kept the hill tribals in complete isolation from the plains people, the hill tribals were left in a most backward condition. The problem of systematic development of these hill areas is more difficult due to the vastness of the areas involved and the thin population. The total area of the autonomous districts is 27,676 sq. miles and the total population according to the 1951 Census is 10,20,454. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that before partition the economy of the border people was linked up with areas which now form parts of Pakistan and as a result of partition their economy was completely shattered for loss of market of their chief agricultural produce and for scarcity of rice and other essential goods. The State Government was therefore faced with two-fold problems; viz., to give immediate relief to these border people by arranging alternative markets for their produce and to supply essential food and other goods and also to take up extensive development programme with special emphasis on communications as a long term measure. The short term measures include relief works, arranging airlift of agricultural produce, supply of subsidised food and other essential goods and increasing food production in the areas themselves. The long term measures are linked up with general development programme of the hill areas as a whole.

Our development programme under Article 275 in the areas is as follows:—

- (1) Quick expansion of education facilities which includes establishment of large number of primary schools. Taking over of the education as a whole from the missionaries, whose monopoly it was to run and organise education in the hill districts during the British regime. Taking over of the existing secondary schools under the direct management of Government and establishment of more government high schools so as to provide at least one government high school in each district and sub-divisional headquarters, establishment of training and basic schools, giving increased grants-in-aid to deserving secondary schools, increasing the number of free studentships and scholarships for hill tribal students in all stages of education—both academical and professional—expansion of hostel accommodation, preparation of revised text books designed to fit the hill tribals in the body politic of the rest of India.
- (2) To build up a net work of road communications connecting all the tribal areas with the principal road system of the State so as to provide adequate facilities for free movement of goods to and from the hill areas. Extensive road programme has been taken up under the auspices of the Public Works Department and the District Councils and also under self-help programme. Air-lifting facilities are also provided in the inaccessible areas by building up air-strips.

- (3) Development of the existing cottage industries by introducing improved methods of production. For marketing the surplus products and supply of essential raw materials a net work of emporia is being built.
- (4) Expansion of medical and public health facilities by establishing increased number of government dispensaries, hospitals and child welfare and maternity centres and also providing adequate facilities for water supply.
- (5) Expansion of the social services undertaken by non-official organisations by giving liberal grants-in-aid.
- (6) Encouragement of self-help enterprises designed to benefit the community as a whole by giving financial assistance.
- (7) Expansion of co-operative organisations.
- (8) Expansion of the activities of the veterinary and animal husbandry department for improvement of the cattle wealth.
- (9) Introduction of improved methods of cultivation by terracing, irrigation, reclamation of waste lands for wet cultivation and distributing new and improved seeds and manures. All possible steps are being taken to wean away the hill tribals from the existing destructive method of shifting cultivation. They are being encouraged to take up the cultivation of food crops side by side with the raising of cash crops by opening a number of demonstration farms.
- (10) Encouragement of development of tribal art and culture by giving grants-in-aid to reputed organisations and research workers engaged in this line.
- (11) The regeneration and systematic exploitation of the forest reserves, both State and Unclassed, with a view not only to increase the revenues of the State as well as the District Councils, but also as a measure of soil preservation and flood control.

In spite of the many-fold difficulties facing the State Government, the results so far achieved are spectacular and they justify continuing the development programme during the Second Five Year Plan, so as to complete the process of all round development of these areas. It is expected that by the end of Second Five Year Plan, the standard of living of these tribes will more or less approximate to that of their brethren in the plains.



## LAND PROBLEMS OF TRIBALS



**SHRI SON. RAM SORAN,** (*Minister for Tribal Welfare, Orissa.*)

The tribal is as anxious to own land and to take to settled cultivation as any other rural people in India. The Santhals, of whom I am one, are good agriculturists. This is so, more or less, of almost all tribal communities of whom there are over 40 in my State. I believe this is so in India as a whole.

History will prove that the Adivasi was not always a hill man. Not long ago, there were independent Adivasi principalities in the hilly regions of Orissa. Some Adivasi chieftains were ousted by non-tribals and others passed as Khasht riyas. Even to-day there are some zamindars who were originally tribals and still claim to be so. It is an undisputed fact that quite a large part of the agricultural land of at least the hilly districts of Orissa was originally reclaimed by the tribals. Gradually, unscrupulous money-lenders and land-grabbers elbowed the Adivasis out of their land up to the hills. It happened because of the influence that they could exercise in the courts of the Rajas and the British. Those who lost their all in the plains had to take to *podu* cultivation in the hill slopes. In time, they forgot their agricultural skill and of necessity developed contentment in their lot. The beautifully terraced fields in the Parlatimedi talias and the agricultural efficiency that the hill Adivasi has displayed in the new colonies started by us, are positive proof that agriculture is in his blood.

In districts of Koraput and Ganjam, so serious did the depredation of the unscrupulous non-tribal become on the land of the tribal, that the old Madras Government were forced to frame a law forbidding transfer of land from the tribal to the non-tribal and providing for restoration of land fraudulently taken, to the original tribal owner. This Act still operates in these and many other districts of Orissa. Wherever I have gone, I have found that the Adivasi, in general, is land hungry. The problem, therefore, does not centre in persuading the tribal to take to settled cultivation but in our difficulty in providing enough land for him.



capital. The little land that they possessed passed to the richer people and they have been forced to eke out a meagre existence by labouring in others' fields or industrial concerns. Some of them still have land which they cannot till. They have to be assisted with bullocks, seeds and agricultural implements. Some own holdings which are not economical. These have to be augmented through government assistance. Co-operative societies have to be popularised among them and they have to be taught cottage industries to supplement their income from agriculture. Above all, a less expensive and more useful system of education has to be introduced.

The problem of the second category is not so simple or common with the non-tribals. They have long been exploited by their better-off neighbours. They have lost their land to the richer and cleverer people. They live in segregated hamlets and console themselves with what they can collect from the jungles to supplement their meagre income from the marginal land which is still left with them. They need much greater assistance to be rehabilitated. There is a great demand for land among them. Leasing out of fallow land alone will not solve the problem. They will have to be assisted in reclaiming it. They must be helped in purchasing bullocks, seeds and implements, and assisted to rebuild their villages, sink wells, have schools, etc. The tribal does not have many social disabilities in Orissa. All that he has are due to his poverty. Once he is on his feet, he will not find it difficult to come up to the level of his more fortunate neighbours for the average tribal is a hard-working, determined fellow.

The problem of the third category is serious indeed. They have lived far too long in the hills, to remember their more prosperous past; they have developed a deep-seated suspicion of the non-tribals. It is difficult to make them believe that the State means well for them. The problem does not end but begins when we would have successfully persuaded them to believe us. The assistance given to them pampers them and when they feel the least inconvenience in the new colonies to which they have been brought, they are eager to go back to the hills. Anti-Government politicians find them very willing customers. Each word of suspicion or distrust told to them is taken at face value. For the time being at any rate, money invested on them will not give commensurate results.

The State Government is trying its very best to rehabilitate these tribals in settled cultivation and in village communities. Each family is given from 5 to 10 acres of land which they reclaim with government assistance. Ploughs, bullocks and seeds are given to them free. Wells and roads are provided. In the first few years, these villages are looked after by the Government. When the colonists have got attached to them, the proposal is to leave them to develop like all other

villages. The landless Adivasis of the first and second categories are being given cultivable waste land generously. In special cases, a part of the initial capital is given free. Top priority is given to applications for lease of land to the tribals, second preference is given to Scheduled Castes and third to others.

Fortunately, the State of Orissa is not over populated like Bengal or U. P. The incidence of population per square mile works out, on the average, to 250. Of course, in some coastal districts, the incidence is much higher. In the hilly districts the incidence is naturally lower than the average. In terms of acres, the total area of the State is 38,487,000 of which 15% is cultivable waste available for being leased out. The proposed land laws will release a large acreage of land from the hands of the landed aristocracy and it will automatically go to the landless tribals along with non-tribals and Harijans. The growth of industries will naturally relieve the burden on agriculture.

We hope that all these will go a long way to meet the land problems of the tribals. There is, among the tribals, a hunger for land and until that is satisfied, it will be difficult to divert them to industries and services.

The available land for agriculture will not be equally suited for cultivation. We are proposing to introduce lift-irrigation in the up-lands and the minor and major irrigation projects, of which quite a number have been taken up, will convert many dry areas into paddy fields. There will still be many up-lands where sylvi-culture and horticulture will give useful occupation to many tribals. The problem is vast and large sums have to be invested at the outset. The State of Orissa formed of areas which were, till recently under diverse administration has been much neglected. Generous assistance of the Government of India to the schemes of the State Government is called for.



**SHRI YESHWANTRAO M. MUKNE M. P. ( Bombay )**

I shall deal with the problem of tribal people in my area, viz, North Thana district in Bombay State. It covers an area of about 1820 square miles and has an Adivasi population of 3,32,655 according to the census of 1951. This is the largest concentration of Adivasi population in a single district, and the proportion of this population to the total population works out roughly to 21 percent.

The great majority of these Adivasis live in the rural or more precisely jungle areas. They are, therefore, called the "children of the jungle." Their social, economic and cultural level can be imagined from this designation. There are many communities among them. For instance, Warlis, Konkanas, Mahadeo Kolis, Dublas, Dhodi Adivasis, Thakurs etc. In Bombay State there are about 24 Scheduled Tribes, but the predominant among them are the Warlis. Thana district has the largest Warli population. According to the 1941 census, there were 1,42,740 Warlis in the Bombay State. Out of them, 1,24,847 lived in the Thana district alone.

These "children of the jungle" are the original residents of the Bombay State. That is why they are known as "Adi-Vasis." They live in remotest parts, far removed from the so-called civilization. For centuries they have lived like this, devoid of education and devoid also of all rights and privileges, that a civilized society enjoys.

In view of the backwardness of this population, the former British Government classed their areas as excluded or partially excluded areas, and tried to give them some protection. With the same view, the President of the Indian Republic has issued the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, for the protection of the Scheduled Tribes people.

The five year plan gave the following as the objective of the State with regard to the people in the tribal area. The plan said "There has to be a positive policy of assisting the tribal people, to develop their natural resources, and to evolve a productive economic life wherein they will enjoy the fruits of their labour, and will not be exploited by more organised economic forces from outside."

With that end in view, a special financial grant was provided for programmes for the social and economic welfare of the tribal population living in the Scheduled Areas. The programmes include, "schemes for the building of roads, improvement of water supply, provision of irrigation, development of

agriculture, animal husbandry and cottage industries, and for increased educational and medical facilities.”

The five year plan has rightly stated that the tribal people have to be assisted in order that they may enjoy the fruits of their labour, without being exploited by more organized economic forces from outside. This has to be kept in view by the Government, not only regarding economic uplift, but also regarding cultural uplift.

It should be remembered that the problems of the tribal people are fundamentally different from the problems of all other people. For instance, the Adivasis in my area live in hilly tracts, far inside the jungles. Many of these areas are not visited by outsiders. The Government officials generally halt at the Taluka places and other places which are easily accessible by motorable roads. Whatever statistics or figures or information they collect is through second hand sources. At the time of the census some enterprising officer or his men might have been impelled to visit the Adivasis in their shelters, but that would be an exception. In the course of the last two decades, some social reformers also turned to these areas, but one doubts if they reached the innermost jungles where the Adivasis live steeped in ignorance, but mostly uncontaminated by the vices associated with so-called civilization.

It would be wrong to judge the Adivasis from the non-tribal standards of morality or culture. It would prove to be disastrous to introduce social reforms in keeping with the standards of the advanced communities. My contention is that while introducing social reform in the Adivasi area we should be very cautious. As a matter of fact, the Adivasis have to develop in their own natural background. That background is different; their environment is different from ours. Their dances and their music, their instruments of music and everything pertaining to arts they have cultivated are different from our own. Let us not try to impart our ideas of dance and music to them. Let the Adivasis develop their arts in their own way. We should give them all the help they may require, but let their art in its pristine pure form remain as it is. Let it not be mixed up with the urban art or our conceptions of the Adivasis' art.

What is true regarding the cultural uplift is also true regarding their social uplift. By birth, I am an Adivasi. That blood runs through my veins, so I can better appreciate what they want and therefore I can point out what should be done for them. In the first place, what they require is administrative, educational and social centres located right in the heart of their respective areas. These centres will then be able to impart better education to these people and improve their social, political and economic outlook. The social centres should, as far as possible, be manned by their own people. It is not difficult to

find sincere, hard-working Adivasi workers. The Adivasi area must speak for itself through its own panchayats, or, wherever they are not available, through peoples' committees elected in public meetings. The function of the Government is to give the Adivasi areas the basic ideas of social uplift, but the actual task of developing these areas should be undertaken by the Adivasis themselves, and my belief is that the Adivasis will do it in a much better way than the outsiders.

The first thing is to develop the natural resources of the Adivasi area. In the first five year plan a sum of Rs. 15 crores has been ear-marked for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for the development of their respective areas. I do not know what will be the share of the Scheduled Area in the Bombay State. What I find is that the Centre has up to now sanctioned the following grants for that area.

1951-52	...	...	Rs. 1 lakh.
1952-53	...	...	Rs. 8.50 lakhs.
1953-54	...	...	Rs. 12 lakhs.

This is all that has been spent, and all this amount has been utilized by the Bombay Government on education, mostly primary, social welfare, health and other such activities. My contention is that this is not the way of tackling the basic problem.

Our problem is mostly economic. What are the conditions under which the Adivasis live ? Their economic condition has been the same for centuries. Their main occupation is agriculture, if you can call the tilling of small pieces of land in hilly and many times barren areas as agriculture. These sons of the jungle, when their small produce gets exhausted, have to live on fruits and herbs. Some of the fortunate among them get work under the contractors who have been making enormous profits through cutting down trees and carrying on the timber business, but the Adivasis get only wages which are starvation wages for the volume of work they do. Here, I must congratulate the Government of Bombay for introducing suitable legislation whereby reasonable wages are paid to the Adivasis and further by forming jungle societies for the benefit of the Adivasi communities. I strongly recommend that other State Governments introduce similar legislation for the uplift of my Adivasi brethren residing in their respective areas.

What the Scheduled Tribes need is economic development of their areas. For that purpose, the scanty communications will have to be developed on a large scale ; small-scale industries will have to be established, and small irrigation projects will have to be taken in hand. These are the problems which must be given top priority. Unless the fundamental problem of the poverty of the

Adivasis is tackled immediately, all other high-sounding schemes of education, public health and community developments are bound to fail.

The report of the Scheduled Tribes Commission provides for advisory councils of Adivasis in each state, in order to advise as to the best methods of bringing about the advancement and uplift of the Adivasis. What I would suggest is that there should also be an advisory committee at the Centre in order to co-ordinate all the activities and give general directives about the line of development. I may also suggest that steps be taken to ensure some representation to the Scheduled Tribes in Central Cabinet and States where there are a good number of the Scheduled Tribes legislators. This will enable the Scheduled Tribes representatives to acquaint themselves with the day-to-day administration of the country, and the Government will be in a position to hear the views of the Scheduled Tribes representatives directly on the problems pertaining to them. It is also necessary that the Government should appoint Scheduled Tribes representatives in the Parliamentary Committees in order that they may get a fairly good knowledge of parliamentary activities within the statutory stipulated period.

#### SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH THANA ADIVASI AREA

The first five year plan took shape as a result of planning from above. The second five year plan is expected to originate from below, *i. e.* with the initiative of the people. The first plan has achieved much. The second five year plan is desired to achieve much more. But the achievement could be guaranteed by the co-operation of the people in the fulfilment of the plan. In this respect, the Adivasi area assures the Government of its fullest co-operation.

The second five year plan holds the district as a unit. The whole Adivasi area forms a part of the Thana district which is very near to Bombay. This district with the exclusion of the city area which is closely connected with Bombay, is backward compared with such districts as Poona, Satara, Kolhapur etc. The North Thana Adivasi area is the most backward part of that district.

Most of the Adivasi area formed part of the former Jawhar State. Being under the sovereignty of Britain, the 'States' had certain limitations in formulating the policies of the areas under their control. However, the Rulers of Jawhar State did all they could for the amelioration of the conditions of the Adivasi people. In spite of these efforts, the people remained steeped in ignorance and backwardness.

With the advent of Independence, the situation has changed. India is today under a democratic Government, which aims at raising the standard of living of the backward people. The Adivasi population in the

Thana District is almost one third of the total population of the district and is spread over practically half the area of the district. The Eastern part of the Thana District is situated in the hilly region of the Sahyadri range of mountains, and its main residents who are Adivasis, live in the forests. It is necessary that their lot should improve. They should be educated and their economic condition particularly should improve.

Under the benign Rulers of Jawhar State the people of the area were naturally happier than the people in the adjoining areas under the direct rule of the British. The people in the States were indeed ignorant of democratic ideas. But they developed a sense of discipline and orderliness under the regime of the Rulers and became accustomed to a sort of peaceful law-abiding living.

Independence and the establishment of a democratic type of government was no doubt essential for the progress of the nation. But during this inevitable transition period, destructive tendencies seem to be dominating in a large measure. Under the circumstances, if improvement in the living conditions of the ignorant and backward Adivasi population is not effected urgently and in time, this ignorant but well-meaning mass of people is likely to come under the influence of the destructive forces in the adjoining areas. The first five-year plan did not pay adequate attention of this area. It is time the Government gives top priority to this area in the second five-year plan, so that the Adivasi in this area could try to come up to the level of the other people; economically, socially and culturally. India must give to its original residents their due place in society.

Centralization of wealth has been the cause of our distress. We are, therefore, aiming at decentralization of that wealth. Mahatma Gandhi also pointed out that centralization or over-emphasis on the cities has been the bane of the modern world. He, therefore, called upon the people to go back to the villages. But this slogan has meant at best paying lip sympathy to the villages or the village people. As a matter of fact, what has to be done is to go to the villages, stay there and improve them. What we find at present is that there are, on the one hand innumerable clusters of hutments called villages spread throughout the jungles, and on the other, there are huge cities. What we need is the golden mean, viz, well-planned, well-built, healthy and invigorating villages.

Jawhar, which is centrally situated in this Adivasi area can be developed into a beautiful hill-station. In order to do that, it is necessary to complete the water-supply scheme, and to build up the power house on a permanent basis so that the supply of electricity could be assured at least for 12 hours, i.e., 24 hours of the day. The Adivasi population, if it has to improve socially and be educated properly. Therefore, Jawhar must have a high standard of living.



that, this high school could be developed, as Mr. Deshmukh recommended, into an ideal institution to impart education in agriculture and cottage or small-scale industries. Such education will go a long way in raising the standard of living of the Adivasi population.

90 per cent of the population of this area is Adivasi. It is necessary, therefore, that it should have a community project centre.

Jawhar should be made the revenue headquarters of the district, and should be headquarters for other officials, in the police or judiciary, of the same rank. It should be remembered always, that the Father of the Nation used to reside among the Bhangis, with a view to improve the lot of the Untouchables. If the Adivasi population has to be brought in level with the other people, all these improvements will have to be effected without any further delay.

For the permanent development of this area, it is advisable to construct a bund on the Surya River. The bund should be constructed in the Ayre forests area. It will enable the Government to produce electricity, and the storage water can be canalised for agriculture and gardening. With the help of electric power, small scale industries could be developed, which will give another source of income to the Adivasi population.

A further bund should be constructed at or near Kasa Theronda. It will bring under cultivation hundreds of acres of land and it will enable the peasants to produce two crops in a year. With abundant water, sugar-cane can be cultivated, and subsequently, sugar mills can also be established. As the river flows further in the Palghar Taluka, small bunds could be constructed at different places.

In order to find out if such bunds could be constructed on the Surya River, the Government should undertake a survey of that area, and collect expert opinion on the subject. Surya River, if properly utilised may become the "Ganges" of the Adivasi area.

Whatever schemes may be undertaken by the Government for the educational, industrial, economic and social advancement of this area, it is desirable that preference should be given to local labour and middle class people in implementing these schemes, so that unemployment in that area could be minimised.

The five year plan is a national plan. It should be implemented without any party considerations, and the efforts of all people, of all shades of opinion should be utilized in implementing the same. It will help to eliminate differences among different parties, and enable the nation to unite for the success of this national endeavour.

Shri Nawab Singh, I. C. S. ( *Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.* )

The tribal areas of Punjab consist of two neighbouring but virtually inaccessible tracts known as Lahaul and Spiti lying on the remote northern borders of India. They form a part of Kangra district and although the total area of the two tracts is 4,695 sq. miles, the population does not exceed even 11,423. Out of them only 2429 belong to Scheduled Tribes because Buddhists alone are notified as such. This is an incident of geography. With Kashmir on one side, Tibet on the North and Himachal Pradesh on the East, these areas form a part of the main and middle Himalayas. Lahaul is surrounded by high mountain ranges and Spiti is traversed by similar ranges. The hills achieve a mean altitude of 18,000 ft. and in both areas the highest peaks reach 23,000 ft. of height. Even in the valleys the minimum height above sea level is about 12,000 ft. Snow begins to fall in December and remains on the ground until April in Lahaul and until even May in Spiti. Even the passes are situated at heights of 13,000 ft. and above. It is not surprising, therefore, that the country is thinly populated and that it stands cut off from the rest of India. Habitation is to be found in valleys of rivers which, fortunately for its people, specially those of Lahaul, run across this country. Spiti is the main river of the tract of that name and in Lahaul the Chenab forces its way into the country in two streams under the names of Chander and Bhaga, which later flow after their confluence under the name of Chander-bhaga. The rivers also flow at the unimaginable height of 9,000 ft.

In a country of this kind, geography must play an important role both historically and otherwise. In fact, we find that even the names which these areas bear are based on geography. Lahaul is corruption of the Tibetan word meaning southern country and Spiti is the Tibetan word denoting middle province. They were situated in this way at one time with reference to the Tibetan Kingdom of Leh of which they were then parts. Lahaul lies at the junction of the three ancient kingdoms of Leh, Chamba and Kulu. Its history is, therefore, inter-twined with theirs. Lahaul is first mentioned in 638 A. D. and it appears to have been at that time under the influence of upper Ladakh, Chamba and probably, also of Kulu. In about 1,000 A. D. Kulu and Chamba Rajas drove out the Tibetans, but by that time the Tibetan influence had established itself and the Buddhism of India which had entered Lahaul in the 8th century had been ousted. About 1150 A. D. the kingdom of Ladakh re-asserted itself, but in the latter half of the 17th century the Rajas of Kulu got Lahaul under their

sway. When the Sikhs captured Kulu in 1840, they took over Lahaul also and it passed into British occupation in 1846. Spiti due to its greater remoteness is a country without much history. In very early times it was probably ruled by Hindu Rajas. In the beginning of the 7th century A. D. it passed under Tibetan rule and was a part of the kingdom of Ladakh in the 10th century. In spite of this, it seems to have been left very much to govern itself. The people, however, are not war-like and it appears that they have paid small tributes to all the surrounding States most of the time. The Sikhs invaded Spiti in 1841, but they left after plundering it. Like Lahaul it was annexed by the British in 1846.

The climate and the scenery of these areas is not difficult to imagine. With snow on the ground during large part of the year, the climate is extremely cold. The mean temperature in the valleys of Lahaul goes down to 23 degrees Fahrenheit, and that of Spiti even to 13 degrees Fahrenheit. In summer the temperature reaches about 61 degrees F. H. There is, however, practically no rain and this makes the atmosphere clear and bracing. The total rainfall during the whole season from June to September in Lahaul comes to about 6 inches and Spiti is almost wholly beyond the regular influence of the monsoon. In Lahaul the trees end at a height of 12,000 ft. and there is almost an utter lack of verdure in Spiti. The scenery during summer when snows disappear from the ground is wild and desolate. The high mountains lend it immense grandeur but the grandeur is almost oppressive in nature.

In Lahaul the main occupation of the people is either agriculture or business and in Spiti almost wholly agriculture. The cultivated area measures about 2781 acres of fields and 3312 acres of meadow land in Lahaul. In Spiti, the cultivated area measures about 2273 acres. Rainfall being slight in Lahaul and fitful and in the form of misty drizzle only in Spiti, the terms agriculture and irrigation are synonymous in both the areas. In Lahaul water is obtainable in abundance from snow and glaciers and it is held either in tanks near the fields or spilled down the hillside. In Spiti the soil is more stony and less fertile and cultivation depends entirely on artificial water courses. A small area is fed by perennial torrents; others rely on small spring water reservoirs, or little streams which trickle down from the cliffs. In Lahaul, there are several pasture grounds which are used also by the Gaddies from Chamba and other parts of the Kangra district. The people of Lahaul are born traders also and make much money by trade every year. In fact, the Lahauli does not stay at home, except to cultivate his crops, and large proportion of the population is absent in other places for almost the whole of the year.

The Lahaulis are not considered very quick-witted but they are eminently shrewd and sensible. They are shrewd in business matters and more honest than the average Kulu-man. The people of Spiti are untidy. They are also generally idle

and fond of gambling and alcoholic liquors. They are refreshingly cheerful and independent, but they are secretive and they will not come out with frank replies unless the real intentions of the other person are known. They seldom have recourse to the law courts and even if a man's words may sometimes be doubted, his oath can always be relied upon. It is curious that their villages are usually clean and so are the living rooms. Among themselves they are also kind and courteous, specially to women and children and hospitality is freely and fully shown by them to strangers.

There are no towns either in Lahaul or Spiti and in view of the scanty rainfall the houses in villages are flat-topped in both areas. In Lahaul, they are built against each other to provide indoor communication during winter. In Spiti, they are generally separate from each other and sometimes have a square between them. They are two or three storeys high in Lahaul. The lower storey is occupied by cattle, horses, sheep and goats and the upper contains the residential rooms. Ordinarily the storey consists of an interior or winter room, an outer or a summer room and a verandah. The villages are set among the fields. In Spiti, on the other hand, the villages are picturesquely situated on eminences which dominate the surrounding area. The houses have white-washed walls and a dark parapet of stacked fuel on top.

The greater accessibility of Lahaul is reflected in its religions. The people may be divided into four classes :—

- (i) Pure Buddhists;
- (ii) Pure Hindus;
- (iii) A class who professes both Hinduism and Buddhism;
- (iv) Lohars and Daggis who according to the other Lahaulis are said to possess no religion at all.

The country also possesses three different languages, but none of these is Aryan and are only distantly related to Tibetan. In Spiti, on the other hand, the language throughout is Tibetan or Boti and the dialect is similar to that spoken in Lahasa. The religion of Spiti is also pure Buddhism of Tibet and it contains no admixture of modern Hinduism. Thus, whereas Spiti due to its insular position has been little affected by India, Lahaul is looking more and more towards India every day.

The customs of these two tracts make an interesting study. Betrothal in Lahaul is in the hands of the father and the maternal uncle of the boy. They take a pot of *chang*, that is liquor, and go to the parents of the girl and explain their intentions. The mother obtains the agreement of the girl and if it is forthcoming, *chang* is partaken of. Refusal to take it is tantamount to rejection of the offer of marriage. *Chang* is sent on two further occasions and the day of the marriage is then finally settled. On the wedding night the bride-groom comes to the house of the bride accompanied by his friends and has a little encounter with the servants of the house who will not let him in. When he has obtained entry, his gifts are disclosed and his *chang* is passed round. Then the

bride's dowry is presented. The bride-groom then takes his bride to his home and further ceremonies are gone through there. Age is not considered in the case of either sex, but poor people marry later than the rich. If the pair cannot agree subsequent to marriage, they may separate. As a rule, however, divorces are rare. If the marriage turns out childless, the second wife is taken but the first wife retains the position of honour in the house. Polyandry is common, although the normal form of married life is monogamy. A divorce is completed by the pair holding a thin thread of wool and breaking it by pulling it apart. In Spiti also when the bride-groom comes to take the bride from her father's house, he is met by a party of bride's friends and relations who obstruct the way and a sham fight of a very rough description ensues in which much drubbing is given to the bride-groom and his friends before they are allowed to pass. Divorce is recognised and the ceremony consists of holding the ends of a thread by the bride and the bride-groom and its severance by the application of light to the middle. Monogamy is the rule and a second wife is taken by the husband only in exceptional circumstances. Polyandry is not generally practised.

In the matter of succession there is considerable difference and a curious practice prevails in Spiti. The custom of primogeniture prevails in the upper families of Lahaul. On the death of the father, the eldest son succeeds and as long as his brothers live with him they are maintained, but when they set up for themselves they get a small allotment of land. Among the subordinate landholders, all sons are entitled to equal shares in their father's holdings, but in practice they generally live together. Where the Hindu element prevails and the holdings are somewhat larger, separation of lands can take place. Unlike in India, generally, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to the father's whole estate in preference to collaterals, provided that she is not previously married and settled away from home elsewhere. In Spiti, although the prevailing system of inheritance is based on the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son succeeds in the life-time of his father. As soon as he marries, he takes over not only the family estate, but also the ancestral dwelling. The father retires to a smaller house and receives a plot of land for his maintenance. He has now no longer anything to do with the family estate and its burden falls on the son. The problem of younger sons is solved by sending them even in their childhood to monasteries in which they normally live their lives. Where, however, the eldest son has failed to beget children, one of them chooses to abandon the monastic life and takes his eldest brother's place in the family. The second son is entitled to claim some land, but many of them keep it common with the eldest son; the other sons are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family but in return they are expected to do certain kinds of work for him in the summer during which time, only older monks remain in the monasteries. If the head of the family dies leaving a young widow with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered the widow's husband. She has no right

to object and no marriage ceremony even is considered necessary. If the head of the family has only daughters, and wishes to marry one of them and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, the younger brother in the monastery is entitled to object, leave the priesthood and beget a son. Sometimes he will marry himself; at other times, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in the hope of getting a son by her.

Corpses in Lahaul are usually burnt and the ashes thrown in the river. The corpse of a high caste person is not touched until the head Lama has been called and has performed a ceremony of enabling the soul to escape from the stomach where it is supposed to reside. Poor people cremate the body as soon as possible and throw the ashes into the stream nearest the village. Amongst rich people the cremation is delayed and ashes are taken to the point where the Chander and Bhaga rivers meet. A curious ceremony of cheating death is also performed where the death of a beloved person appears inevitable. A life-size effigy of a youth is made. This is dressed up with the clothes and ornaments of the sick person to present a likeness. A funeral procession is then formed and the effigy is solemnly burnt. A person engaged for the purpose bewails the death of the person who is lying sick and goes on shouting that he has been dead now for 9 years. The object is to deceive the angel of death, and where deception is unsuccessful, two funerals have to take place—a sham one and a real one, and neither of them is inexpensive. In Spiti also corpses are usually burnt, but they are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds, according to the customs of Tibet. In some of the monasteries the embalmed bodies of the deceased abbots in sitting posture have been interred in masonry pillars. But as a rule the abbots are cremated. When the ground is frozen and fuel is scarce, the practice is obtained of burying infants in walls of houses in the winter.

It is obvious from what I have said so far that the progress in tribal areas must remain slow. For several months the country lies in the grip of snow and is wholly inaccessible. At other times also, it suffers from an extremely cold climate and lack of communications. The conditions prevailing are so different from those in other parts of the state that it is difficult to find even officers to be posted there. Every effort, however, is being made to tackle these problems in hand and a beginning has been made in several directions. New jeepable roads are being constructed, irrigation facilities are being improved, many scholarships are being awarded for studies, hospitals are being made and much stress is being laid on matters of public health. The problem of acquiring suitable officers is being solved by selecting inhabitants of these regions and by picking and training them at Government expense for official posts in future. Much has still to be done and the Government of Punjab are greatly indebted to the Government of India for the generous manner in which they have accepted their financial aid in the interest of these remote regions.

## श्री एम० जी० उके एम० पी० (मध्य प्रदेश)

इस परिषद के प्रथम अधिवेशन (१९५२) में आदिवासियों की अनेक आर्थिक समस्याओं का समावेश मैंने अपने लेख में किया था। इस बार आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति को पृष्ठभूमि के साथ अपना लेख प्रेषित कर रहा हूँ।

आदिवासियों के मुख्य उद्योग-धन्धे—(१) शिकार, (२) जंगल सम्बन्धो (३) पशुपालन, (४) जंगल की मजदूरी, (५) कृषि की मजदूरी और (६) कृषि।

### (१) शिकार

मछली, चिड़िया और जानवर यही इनके शिकार हैं। प्राचीन काल से लेकर आज से बीस वर्ष पूर्व तक आदिवासियों का साधारण जीवन-निर्वाह शिकार, जंगली कन्द फल-फूल-पत्तों, बकुल, शहद, घास और जलाऊ लकड़ी तक ही सीमित था। अनेक प्रकार के जाल-फंदे, तीर, कुल्हाड़ी, बछ्छी और धरती खोदकर बनाए हुए गढ़े इत्यादि शिकार के साधन थे। उन्नत जनता की बन्दूकों की प्रतियोगिता में वे साधन असफल रहे और आदिवासियों को पर्याप्त शिकार दुर्लभ हो गया। निदान वे भी सस्ती बन्दूकें खरीदने के लिए विवश हो गए। यहां यह ध्यान देने योग्य बात है कि जहां शिकार आम जनता के मनोरंजन का साधन है, वहीं वह आदिवासियों के जीवन-निर्वाह का अनिवार्य अंग है। शौकीनों की बन्दूकें गरजती रहीं और पशु-संख्या में भयंकर रूपेण कमी हो गयी। परिणाम-स्वरूप अनेक प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने शिकार-बन्दी कानून पास किया। उदाहरण के लिए, मध्यप्रदेश सरकार ने १९३४ शिकारी बिल पास किया। जिसके अनुसार बड़ी शिकार और छोटी शिकार के लाइसेंस की वार्षिक-शुल्क क्रमशः १८ और १४ रुपये लगने लगी। आदिवासियों के लिए इतनी विशाल-धन-राशि आकाश-कुसुमवत थी। इस प्रकार उनके जीवन का एक अंग छीना गया।

इस संकट को देखकर सिवनी (म० प्र०) में आदिवासी महासभा ने एक प्रस्ताव पास करके सरकार से प्रार्थना की कि शिकार आदिवासियों के जीवन का अनिवार्य अंग है और उनके भोजन का भी वही एकमात्र पोषक अवयव है तथा इसके द्वारा स्वमेव वन्य-पशुओं से कृषि की रक्षा हो जाती है अतएव सरकार शिकारी-बिल आदिवासियों पर लागू न करे। हमारी प्रार्थना को स्वीकार कर सरकार ने छोटी शिकार, नील, सूअर इत्यादि बड़े जानवरों सहित माफ कर दिया। किन्तु अब यह माफी वापस लेकर सरकार ने आदिवासी जीवन को पंगु बना दिया।

## (२) जंगल सम्बन्धी

(ए) जंगल की उपज—जंगल ही आदिवासियों के जीवन का मंगल है। जंगल में परिश्रम करती हुई जब कोई आदिवासी महिला पुत्र को जन्म देती है तो उस बच्चे का नाम जंगलू, जंगला आदि रख दिया जाता है। आज भी आदिवासी महुवा आदि फल-फूलों को खाने का “नया खाना” नामक त्यौहार मनाते हैं। पच्चीस वर्ष पूर्व जंगली सम्पदा की रक्षा के लिए कुछ कानून बनाए गए। इसके लिए भी सिवनी (म० प्र०) में आदिवासी महासभा ने १९३५ में सरकार से प्रार्थना की और सरकार ने जंगल के कन्द, फल, फूल, पत्ते, घास, बकुल, शहद, जलाऊ लकड़ी के सिर-बोभे आदि आदिवासियों के लिए माफ कर दिए थे। अब ये सुविधाएं वापस ले ली गयीं। इस प्रकार आदिवासियों के जीवन-निर्वाह का दूसरा प्रमुख साधन छीना गया।

(बी) निस्तार: कृषि के लिये हल, वक्खर की निस्तारी लकड़ी या मकान के लिये लकड़ी मिलना कठिन हो गई। यहां तक कि सूखी पड़ी, दीमक द्वारा खायी हुई, खैर-तिनसा की जलाऊ लकड़ी भी पकड़ी जाती है। सरकार का कथन है कि उसने गांव जंगल-निस्तार के अधिकारों में कुछ भी फेर-फार नहीं किया। ठीक है, किन्तु अब इन्हें गांव के पटेल से खन्ना लेना पड़ता है। आदिवासी गांवों के आदिवासी पटेल निरक्षर होते हैं। उन्हें खन्ना काटना भी नहीं मालूम यदि मालूम भी है तो अपूर्ण, इसलिए वे खन्ना नहीं दे सकते। इसका परिणाम भयंकर होता है। फारेस्ट-गार्ड बिना ६०, ७०, ८० रुपया या फिर घूसखोरी का द्वार तो खुला ही है। इस प्रकार आदिवासी जीवन का यह अंग भी पेचीला और खर्चीला हो गया।

मैंने अपने चुनाव के क्षेत्र के चार जिलों और अन्य कई जिलों में जनसम्पर्क दौरा किया तथा मुझे प्रान्त के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से अनेक पत्र प्राप्त हुए। आदिवासियों में सर्वत्र त्राहि-त्राहि मची है। उसके पास जाने में लज्जा आती है। जिसके पास ठंड से सिकुड़ कर मरने से बचने का एकमात्र साधन सूखी लकड़ी ही हो; जिनके पेट पालने का सबसे बड़ा साधन जंगल की उपज हो, जिनकी धूप-बारिश से रक्षा करने वाली भोंपड़ी बांस-घास की बनी हो, वह भोंपड़ी जिसकी उम्र सिर्फ दो बरस की हो वशर्त कोई उन्नत भाई उन्हें अन्याय पूर्वक सताकर साल-छः महीने में गांव से न निकाल दे तो, जो जंगली पशुओं से खेतों की रक्षा करने वाले संधान और मचान में लगने वाली साधारण लकड़ी के लिये मुहताज हों उन्हें हम कैसे धैर्य बँधायें? किस मुँह से हम उनके सामने जायें? जो कभी जंगल के राजा शेर से पंजा लड़ाते थे आज इस नये दोपाये जानवर -फारेस्ट-गार्ड- के आतंक से कराह रहे हैं।

यदि शीघ्र ही आदिवासियों को जंगल की सुविधाएँ नहीं दी गयीं तो सरकार - आदिवासियों की उन्नति के लिए चाहे जितनी उठा-पटक करती।



इस पीढ़ी में तो विगड़ेगी ही, पर आगे भगवान् मालिक है ।

### (३) पशु-पालन

आदिवासी गाय, भैंस, बकरी, सूअर और मुर्गी पालते हैं । बहिला गाय-भैंस हल में जोतते हैं । गाय, भैंस और बकरी तो कृषक पालते हैं किन्तु आज चरी के कानून और दर बढ़ जाने से पशुपालन हतोत्साहित हो रहा है । सूअर और मुर्गी तो निर्धनों का सहारा है । पैसा पास नहीं तो कोई चिन्ता नहीं, दो-चार अंडे उठाकर बेच दिए और नमक-मिर्च खरीद लिया । एक सूअर बेच दिया और खरीद ली साड़ी या धोती । इस सहज जीवनोपयोगी पशुपालन को भी मिटाने वाले बहुत हैं । दूसरों को छोड़िये स्वयं हमारे आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग के उच्च वर्ग के कर्मचारी और आदिवासी कल्याण का दम भरने वाले गैरसरकारी संस्थाओं के आचार्य प्रभु तो गाते फिरते हैं कि हम तुम्हारे हाथ का छुआ जल और तुम्हारी रसोई में पका भोजन ग्रहण करेंगे यदि तुम मुर्गी-सूअर का भक्षण-पोषण छोड़ दो तो । इन महापुरुषों के उदर-देवता की पूजा का अधिकार आदिवासियों को अभी तक नहीं था किन्तु अनजान में ही सरल-स्वभावी आदिवासी हजारों की संख्या में यह पशुपालन छोड़ रहे हैं और एक ऐसा पशु पालन अपना रहे हैं जो उनके नाश का कारण बनेगा ।

बहिला गाय और भैंस आदिवासी इसलिए जोतते हैं कि उनके पास ऊँचे दाम के बैल और बोदे खरीदने के लिये धन नहीं है । दूसरा कारण यह है कि बरी जमीन में कम कीमती अन्न उपजाने के लिए कीमती बैल और बोदे टके की मुर्गी छः टके महमूल लागू करते हैं । और हमारे तथा कथित महाप्रभु उठते-बैठते उपदेश देते रहते हैं कि गौमाता को जोतना पाप है । समझ में नहीं आता कि जब हमारी मां-बहिनें जंगलों-पहाड़ों में आफिस-दफ्तरों में देश-विदेश में मर्दों के कंधे से कंधा भिड़ाकर काम कर रही हों तो गौमाता क्यों पीछे रह जाय । जब मां-बहिनों का परिश्रम पाप नहीं तो गौमाता का क्यों ? जो कुछ भी हो फिर भी आदिवासियों के जीवन-निर्वाह का यह तीसरा साधन भी छूट रहा है ।

सरकार को चाहिए कि वह आदिवासियों को चरी की सुविधाएं दे और उन समस्त उपदेशकों को जो पशुपालन और उनके उपयोग में बाधा डालते हैं कानूनी सजा दे ।

### (४) जंगल की मजदूरी

सरकारी कागजों में बारह आने दैनिक मजदूरी नियत है किन्तु ठेकेदारों की दुनिया में पुरानी नादिरशाही कायम है । जंगल में ठेकेदारों की गुलामी के सिवाय मजदूरी की ग़पत का और कोई बाजार नहीं है । विवश आदिवासियों को किसी भी दर पर उन्हीं ठेकेदारों के चरण चूमने पड़ते हैं, सब पेट पालने की खातिर । हफ्तों

मजदूरी नहीं मिलती : गरीब अपना दुखड़ा किसे सुनायें ? यह चौथे सहारे का रोना है ।

इनकी रक्षा के लिए जंगल सहकारी समितियां बनाई जायें । जंगल के कूप, तेंदू, पत्ते, शहद, लाख आदि के ठेके भी इन्हीं समितियों को दिए जायें ।

### (५) कृषि की मजदूरी

कृषि की मजदूरी इतनी कम दी जाती है कि मजदूर दो समय का खाना भी नहीं खा सकता । यदि इनकी औरतें भी सुबह से शाम तक काम न करें तो ये भूखों मर जावेंगे । फिर कपड़े, दवा और बच्चे के पालन का क्या हाल होगा ? यह बताने की बात नहीं; समझने की है । ससम्भने का प्रयत्न कीजिये । एक आदिवासी की शादी केवल पचास रुपये में होती है । बहुत अच्छी बात है, किन्तु इस रकम को चुकाने में तीन-तीन पीढ़ियां तर जाती हैं फिर भी मुद्दल से चौगुनी रकम बकाया रहती है । श्री ग्रीगसन की जांच ऐसे उदाहरणों से पटी पड़ी है ।

इस दिशा में सरकार को क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाना चाहिए । जिन प्रांतों में दैनिक मजदूरी की दर सरकार द्वारा कायम की गई हो वहां कम मजदूरी देने वालों पर जुर्माना किया जाय ।

### (६) कृषि

(ए) आदिवासी कृषकों के पास जमीन अधिकतर बरी है और पहाड़ों के ढलान पर स्थित है । आदिवासी ऐसी ही जमीन को पसन्द करते हैं क्योंकि ऐसी जमीन उनके मनचाहे अन्न की साधारण जोत के उपयुक्त है । ऐसी जमीन को तीन साल तक पड़ती रखना पड़ता है । इस प्रकार आदिवासियों की आधी जमीन सदैव पड़ती रहती है । ऐसी कम कीमती काश्त की सहयोगी, कृषक भोपड़ी से लगी हुई बाड़ी होती है जिसमें मक्का, ज्वार आदि बोया जाता है । हर आदिवासी इसी प्रकार की बाड़ी से जीने का एक तिहाई साधन पैदा करता है ।

कहीं-कहीं अच्छी जमीन भी है जहां गेहूँ आदि कीमती अन्न भी पैदा होता है । ऐसे किसान कृषि की उन्नत रीति को अपना रहे हैं । किन्तु विचार-शक्ति न होने के कारण सदैव प्राणघातक कर्जों में फंसे रहते हैं ।

(बी) दहिया या बेवर की काश्त शिफ्टिंग कल्टीवेशन या दहिया अथवा बेवर की काश्त जंगल के लिए हानिकारक है इसलिए इस प्रथा को रोका जा रहा है; फिर भी आज ६ लाख एकड़ भूमि पर इसी प्रथा से काश्त हो रही है । जंगल काटकर जलाने से बिना जोत की खेती तीन साल तक की जा सकती है । तीन साल बाद आदिवासी लोग नयी जमीन के लिए दूसरी जगह चले जाते हैं । यह प्रथा अवश्य

और शीघ्र ही वन्द की जाय किन्तु साथ ही उन्हें खेती की दूसरी ज़मीन दी जाय—नयी ज़मीन देकर बसाया जाय ।

### कर्ज में फंसने के कारण

(१) नाप-तोल, भाव-हिसाब का ज्ञान न होने के कारण वे, माल खरीदते और बेचते दोनों समय ठगे जाते हैं । (२) बढ़िया-घटिया माल की परख का ज्ञान नहीं । (३) भोलापन-किसी आदिवासी को बाजार के रास्ते से प्रेमपूर्वक बुला कर एक बीड़ी या तिलम पिलाकर चाहे जैसे लूट लीजिये और वह अज्ञान आदिवासी उस प्रेम और तम्बाखू की याद जीवन भर नहीं भूल पाता । दुबारा वह इसी दुकान पर जाता है । (४) ढोल बजा नहीं कि वह सब काम छोड़कर नाच-गाने में मग्न हो जावेगा । (५) शराब पाकर वह दीन-दुनिया को भूल जाता है । फिर चाहे खड़ी फसल को जानवर चर जायें ।

लेन-देन की अज्ञानता के कारण आदिवासी की गाढ़े पसीने की कमाई का एक बड़ा भाग लुट जाता है और आदिवासी हमेशा कंगाल रहता है । आदिवासी को हाथ-पाँव की बीस उँगलियों तक की ही गिनती आती है । बीस की एक कौड़ी बनाते हैं और ये कौड़ियाँ भी सिर्फ बीस ही होती हैं । उसके आगे का ज्ञान उन्हें नहीं । एक कौड़ी के लिए ये किसी रस्सी में एक गाँठ बांध देते हैं या एक कंकड़ किसी बर्तन में छोड़ देते हैं या दिवार पर कोयले या चूने की एक लकीर मार देते हैं ।

इनकी आर्थिक दशा सुधारने के लिए आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग ने सहकारी समितियाँ खोली थीं किन्तु अनेक समितियों के मूलधन का भी पता नहीं है । डेव्हलपमेंट विभाग ने जहाँ कहीं आदिवासी सहकारी समितियाँ खोली हैं वे बहुत अच्छी हालत में चल रही हैं । इस घपले की जाँच होनी चाहिए ।

### आर्थिक समस्या का हल

(१) सहकारी समितियाँ (२) शिक्षा (३) आदिवासी पंचायतों द्वारा गंगव-वन्दी और कम खर्चिले रीति-रिवाजों का प्रचार । यह अंतिम हल रामबाण है । चाहे सरकार माने या न माने । चाहे इसमें किसी को जातीयता दिखे, पर यदि आदिवासियों का उत्थान सच्चे हृदय से करना है तो आदिवासी विभाग की फिजूल खर्चियाँ कम करके हर तहसील में आदिवासी पंचायत कायम की जावे और आदिवासियों को नेतृत्व की प्रेरणा दी जावे ।

### आदिवासियों की भूमि-सम्बन्धी समस्याएं

आप किसी भी आदिवासी गाँव में चले जाइये और जो अच्छी ज़मीन दिखे उनका उल्लेख पृष्ठिये । उत्तर मिलेगा अमुक आदिवासी की यह ज़मीन है और फलाँ गंग-आदिवासी ने घोवा देकर आपने कच्चे में कर ली है । अब गरीब आदिवासी के

पास मुकद्दमा लड़ने की न अक्ल है न दाम । एक लड्डू और एक प्याला चाय में १५० एकड़ ज़मीन और एक रुपये के नमक में एक गाँव और दो सौ एकड़ शीर ज़मीन चली गयी । ऐसे सैकड़ों उदाहरण हैं । शराब की कहानो तो कुछ और ही हैं ।

अनेक प्रान्तों में आदिवासियों की ज़मीनों की रक्षा के लिए कानून बने हैं फिर भी लाखों एकड़ ज़मीन उनके हाथों से निकल गयी । वैधानिक सुरक्षा के लेख में इस पक्ष पर प्रकाश डालूंगा ।

किसी आदिवासी का बाप मर गया । दस-बीस साल हो गए पर बेटे का नाम अभी तक पट्टे पर नहीं चढ़ा । वर्षों बीत गए भाई-भाई अलग हो गए पर खाता अलग नहीं किया । लड़का जिन्दा है पर लड़की के नाम से ज़मीन लिखी गयी है । दो पुस्त से काश्त हो रही है, जमा दे रहे हैं 'घास' लिखा जाता है । आदिवासी कहाँ तक इन कामों के लिए पटवारी को घूस देगा । इस प्रकार विवश होकर आदिवासी को एक दिन ज़मीन से हाथ धोना पड़ता है ।

अधिक अन्न उपजाओ योजना में हजारों आदिवासियों ने लाखों रुपयों की मिट्टी डालकर ज़मीनें तैयार कीं, उन्हें कृषि के योग्य बनाया ।

ज़मींदारी और मालगुजारी समाप्त होने पर और पहले भी मालगुजारों ने आदिवासियों को हजारों एकड़ ज़मीनें बेचीं । कई मालगुजारों ने सादे कागजों पर रसीदें लिख दीं और कुछ ने स्टाम्प पर रजिस्ट्री कर दी । १९५० से आज चार वर्षों तक आदिवासियों ने पसीना बहाकर ज़मीनें सुधारीं हजारों की लागत के बाँध बाँधे । आज चार साल बाद निस्तार अधिकारी धड़ाधड़ सैकड़ों पर सैकड़ों के जुर्माने कर ऊपरी दोनों प्रकार की ज़मीनें छुड़ा रहे हैं । भोले, नासमझ आदिवासी क्या जाने कि माल-गुजार की मालगुजारी कब गयी और बेची जाने वाली ज़मीन का मालिक कौन है । अब वह मालगुजार पर क्या नालिश करे ? उसके पास नालिश करने के लिए बचा भी क्या है ? धन्य है; एक ओर तो सरकार आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग खोलती है जनता के करोड़ों रुपयों का खर्च होता है और दूसरी ओर सरकार के दूसरे विभाग आदिवासियों का सर्वनाश करते हैं ।

मैं सरकार से विनयपूर्वक कहूँगा कि सरकार पर आदिवासियों का कल्याण करने का वैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व है । ज़मीन-संबंधी उपरोक्त समस्त उलझनें सरकार को स्वयं सुलझाना चाहिए । यदि उन्हें उनकी जब्त ज़मीन जो अधिक अन्न उपजाओ योजना के अन्तर्गत तैयारी की गई थी वापस नहीं मिलती तो उन्हें उक्त ज़मीन पर लगाया हुआ धन वापस दिया जाय । इसी प्रकार यदि मालगुजारी ज़मीन वापस नहीं मिलती तो बिक्री करने वाले मालगुजार के गाँव के तैंतीस किशतों में दिए जाने वाले अनुदान में से ज़मीन की कीमत काटकर संतप्त आदिवासियों को दी जाय ।

जहाँ कहीं पड़ती ज़मीन काश्त के लायक निकल सके तो उसके विनष्टन में आदिवासियों को प्राथमिकता दी जाय क्योंकि यह उनका ऐतिहासिक और वैधानिक अधिकार है ।

### आदिवासी शिक्षा

आदिवासी कल्याण का सबसे श्रेष्ठ उपाय शिक्षा है । सरकार बहुत कुछ खर्च कर रही है किन्तु स्वयं आदिवासियों में इस दिशा में कोई उत्साह नहीं है । आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग के कुछ कर्मचारी दिलचस्पी और प्रेमभाव से आदिवासियों में काम नहीं करते । इस कारण प्राथमिक और माध्यमिक पाठशालाओं में उपस्थिति और शिक्षा ढकोसला मात्र रह जाती है । माध्यमिक पाठशालाओं में छात्रवृत्ति तीन-तीन चार-चार माह तक नहीं मिलती । छात्रालय में भोजन का निरीक्षण कभी नहीं होता । अभी तक अनेक पाठशालाओं के भवन नहीं बनाये जा सके हैं । आदिवासियों ने जहाँ कहीं भवन बना दिया है वहाँ उनकी रकम घपले में पड़ गयी है । आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग के अनेक कर्मचारी अपने-आपको आदिवासियों का अन्नदाता तथा अधिकारी समझते हैं और आदिवासियों से घृणा करते हैं; उन्हें कलंक लगाकर नौकरी से निकलने का सतत प्रयत्न करते रहते हैं । मैंने बहुत सी आदिवासी पाठशालाओं और छात्रालयों के बच्चों का निरीक्षण किया है किन्तु मंडला जिले के कालपी गाँव सरकारी पाठशाला के छात्रों में जो विशेषता मिली वह और कहीं नहीं पा सका । स्पष्ट है कि वहाँ उन्हें शिक्षकों की दिलचस्पी और और स्नेह मिला है जब कि दूसरी पाठशालाओं में यह सपने की बात है ।

आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग की माध्यमिक पाठशाला में तीसरी अंग्रेजी और सातवीं हिन्दी तक पढ़ाया जाता है । चौथी अंग्रेजी के लिए बच्चों को दूसरी पाठशाला में जाना पड़ता है । चौथी अंग्रेजी की कक्षा में स्थान पाना बहुत कठिन होता है । आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों का शिक्षा का स्तर कम होता है । इन परिस्थितियों में इन्हें कहीं भी स्थान नहीं मिलता । इस कठिनाई से छूटने के लिए या तो इनके लिए स्थान सुरक्षित रखे जायें या फिर इनके स्कूलों में ही चौथी अंग्रेजी की कक्षा जोड़ दी जाय ।

सरकारी स्कूलों में कुछ सुरक्षित स्थान और फीस माफ रहती है किन्तु सरकारी स्कूल बहुत कम हैं । निजी स्कूल-कालेज ही अधिक हैं । उनमें फीस माफ नहीं रहती और स्थान भी सुरक्षित नहीं रहते । इस कारण सुरक्षित स्थान और फीस माफ का विशेष लाभ नहीं होता । कल्याण-विभाग की निधि में से निजी स्कूल और कालेजों में फीस चुकाई जाय और स्थान भी सुरक्षित रखे जायें ।

छात्रवृत्ति के आवेदन-पत्र अभी तक पाठशालाओं में नहीं पहुँचते । सरकार का

कथन है कि सब पाठशालाओं, निजी संस्थाओं और मैम्बरों को ये आवेदन-पत्र भेजे जाते हैं। मुझे इस वर्ष अनेक पाठशालाओं में ये आवेदन-पत्र नहीं मिले। निरीक्षण की ढिलाई के कारण ऐसा होता है। भारत सरकार के स्कालरशिप-फार्म भेजने में भी लापरवाही बरती जाती है। मुझे इस वर्ष दो फार्म भेजे गये थे। दोनों फार्मों में पहिला फार्म तो था किन्तु दूसरा गायब था।

फोस, सुरक्षित स्थान, स्कालरशिप फार्म और समय पर स्कालरशिप देने के कार्य के लिए कल्याण विभाग में एक स्पेशल ब्रांच खोली जाय।

वस्तर और सरगुजा को छोड़कर म० प्र० में न सिनेमा व्हान आवश्यक है और न डिस्ट्रिक्ट आर्गेनाइजरो की १३ हजार की ४००) मासिक खर्चवाली जीपें। यह बचत ऊपरी कामों में लगायी जावे।

प्राथमिक पाठशालाओं में कृषि और जंगल की शिक्षा दी जावे। जहाँ संभव हो उनकी भाषा भी शिक्षा-क्रम में सम्मिलित कर ली जावे।

आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग ने नयी पाठशालाएँ खोली उल्टे जनपद की पाठशालाएँ लेकर विभाग का खर्च बढ़ा दिया। यदि वे काम बढ़ाकर दिखाना चाहते हैं तो नये स्कूल खोलें। अब तो यह होता है कि विभाग का सारा समय जनपद स्कूलों के शिक्षकों के वेतन की व्यवस्था में ही खप जाता है। यह तो चलती गाड़ी की कीली निकालना हुआ। मैं समझता हूँ यह धोखा है।

### आदिवासी संस्कृति

आदिवासी शांत, खुशमिजाज, कोमल हृदय और डरपोक प्रकृति के होते हैं। आपसी हंसी-मर्जाक तो उनके जीवन का रस है। स्त्री-पुरुष में शायद ही कभी झगड़ा होता है। वे विश्वास, ईमानदारी और सत्य के रक्षक हैं। अज्ञानी दावा चाहे भूटा हो पर वे चुकावेंगे अवश्य और निश्चित समय पर चुकावेंगे। भोला आदिवासी एक बार जिसका भरोसा कर ले उसे जीवन भर नहीं छोड़ता चाहे वह उसे गढ़े में गिरा दे। वैसे तो वह घोर परिश्रम होता है पर भविष्य की ओर सदा निष्क्रिय रहता है। यदि उसे सप्ताह भर का अन्न मिल जावे तो वह पहुनाई के लिए निकल पड़ता है और खाने-पीने तथा गप्प मारने में मग्न हो जाता है।

वह जंगल के मार्गों, पशुओं, पक्षियों, फल-फूल-कंद और वृक्षों से पूर्ण परिचित रहता है। यद्यपि वह स्वामी की कृषि तन-मन से करता है तथापि घर को खेती के प्रति सुस्त रहता है। वह शिकार का विकट प्रेमी है। हाके के लिए सदा तत्पर रहता है और शराब पा ले तो फिर मत पूछिये।

आदिवासी स्त्री-पुरुष अपने आदरणीय अतिथि का स्वागत करने गाँवकी सीमा तक आते हैं। महिलाएँ सिर पर कलश रखती हैं और पुरुष बाजे बजाते हैं। घर

पहुँच कर उसे खाट पर बैठाते हैं और किसी पात्र में अपने हाथों उसके पैर धोते हैं। फिर अतिथि को चारों ओर से घेर कर बैठ जाते हैं। अपने सामने बैठाकर उसे भोजन कराते हैं और अपने हाथों उसके जूठे हाथ धोते हैं।

किसी जातीय बैठक में पहुँच कर, कार्यक्रम की चिन्ता किए बगैर, वे हाथ मिलाकर सब का अभिवन्दन करते हैं फिर एक ओर बैठ जाते हैं। बैठते समय वे सदा अपरिचितों से दूर रहने का प्रयास करते हैं। परिचितों से प्रेमपूर्वक मिलते हैं और दिल खोलकर बातें करते हैं। नृत्य-संगीत के पीछे तो वे पागल हैं। स्त्री-पुरुष निःसंकोच नाचते-गाते हैं। प्रत्येक रात आदिवासी गाँव के आकाश में मृदंग-मजीरे और सुरीले कण्ठ गूँजते रहते हैं और धरती पर युवक-युवतियों के चंचल पांव थिरकते रहते हैं।

रौवदार समुदाय से या सरकारी कर्मचारियों से दूर रहते हैं। इसका कारण उनका सजीला स्वभाव तो है ही किन्तु लुट जाने और बेगार का भय मुख्य है। अज्ञानता तो इतनी है कि कोई लफंगा भी सरकारी कर्मचारी, साधु, तान्त्रिक आदि बनकर इन्हें चाहे जैसे लूट लेता है। आने के तम्बाखू या पैसे के नमक के लिए काम छोड़कर दस पाँच मील का चक्कर लगा आते हैं। प्रायः दूकानदार इन्हें जबर्दस्ती कोई भी माल थमा देते हैं। ये बेचारे सहम कर अनावश्यक माल, चाहे उधार ही हो खरीद लेते हैं।

विवाह के लिए लड़की भगाना साधारण बात है; अपराध नहीं। लड़का लड़की आपस में हल्दी छिड़क लें तो उन्हें पति-पत्नी मान लिया जाता है। विवाहित स्त्री का दूसरे के घर 'बैठ' जाना अनैतिक नहीं है। केवल पहले पति को विवाह का खर्च वापस दिला दिया जाता है। इसीलिए आदिवासियों में स्त्री-संपत्तिकी अधिकारिणी नहीं है। इनमें वधु की वारात जाती है वर की नहीं। शिकार के सिवाय प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में स्त्रियाँ मर्दों का साथ देती हैं। इसलिए इनमें बहुपत्नित्व प्रचलित है।

ये जंगली-फूलों, सींगों, परों आदि से अपना शृंगार करते हैं। मंगल कार्यों और पर्वों में नृत्य करते इनका बहुत समय नष्ट होता है किन्तु आज शराब और व्यभिचार के प्रसार का मुख्य कारण यही नृत्य हो रहा है। शराब के ठेकेदार साहूकार, जंगल के ठेकेदार और सरकारी अधिकारी इत्यादि अपने दुष्ट स्वार्थ के लिए कर्मासैला नृत्य का कार्यक्रम शराब के बल पर रचाते हैं इसलिए पंचायतें इस नृत्य को रोक रही हैं।

ये मासिक धर्म का बहुत छूत मानते हैं इसलिए अपने देवता को जंगल में रखते हैं और स्त्रियों को पूजा में सम्मिलित नहीं करते। ये मृतक को मृत नहीं मानते वरन् उसे यह मानते हैं कि वह देव में मिल गया इसलिए दशक्रिया और वार्षिक

श्राद्ध न करके देवकार्य कर मृतक की स्थापना देवस्थान में की जाती है और देवता के साथ उसकी भी पूजा होती है ।

### आदिवासी कल्याण के लिए अनुदान

अनुदान देकर उसके कार्य की जाँच करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है; चाहे वह सरकारी संस्था हो या गैर सरकारी । गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं को अनुदान देने के पूर्व और पश्चात् विशेष जाँच आवश्यक है । आजकल अनुदान के कारण आदिवासी कार्य-कर्ताओं की बाढ़-सी आ गयी है ; बेरोजगारों को रोजगार मिल गया है । कल्याण विभाग और निजी संस्थाओं के कुछ कर्मचारी एक दूसरे को सीधी आँख भी देखना नहीं चाहते । एक-दूसरे के काम को बन्द करके अकेले राम ही चन की बंशी बजाना चाहते हैं । यदि कोई अच्छा काम करता है तो दूसरों को अपनी रोटी की चिन्ता होने लगती है । इस स्वार्थाधिता की घुड़दौड़ में बेचारे आदिवासी कार्यकर्ता पीसे जाते हैं । वे आदिवासियों को तो बढ़ने ही नहीं देना चाहते ताकि इनको रोजी चलती रहे ।

एकमात्र कालपी (म० प्र०) का सरकारी स्कूल ही आदिवासी बालकों को सच्ची लगन से शिक्षा देता है और स्वास्थ्यप्रद भोजन की व्यवस्था करता है । इस स्कूल का गैड़ी-फुटबाल विश्व प्रसिद्ध है । सुनने में आया है कि कल्याण विभाग वह स्कूल अपनी तरफ ले रहा है; क्यों ? उस स्कूल की प्रशंसा जो नहीं सुनी जाती । किन्तु वह अच्छा स्कूल निस्संदेह बिगड़ जावेगा ।

वनवासी सेवा संघ को तीस तहसीलों में स्कूल खोलने के लिए भारत तथा म० प्र० सरकार ने गत वर्ष से अनुदान देना आरम्भ किया है । आदिवासियों के सौभाग्य से सेवा संघ ने बहुत सुन्दर योजना बनायी है । चार विभाग बनाए गए । चार एम. एल. ए. एक-एक विभाग के डायरेक्टर बनाए गए । एक विभाग का काम मुझे देखने को नहीं मिला किन्तु तीन विभागों में एक वर्ष में जो काम हुआ है वह आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग सात वर्षों में लाखों रुपये खर्च करके भी नहीं कर सका । इस योजना द्वारा किये गये काम की प्रशंसास्वयं श्रीकान्त जी ने की है । सुनने में आया है कि आदिवास कल्याण विभाग में खलबली मच गयी है जैसे उनका दुर्ग टूट रहा हो । उसके सदर कर्मचारियों ने यह कहना आरम्भ किया है— “व्यर्थ खर्च होता है ।” “कल्याण-विभाग में विलीन कर लेंगे ।” इत्यादि । यदि यह काम विलीन कर लिया गया तो मैं तो यही कहूँगा कि सरकार को आदिवासियों का कल्याण नहीं करना है । सारा ढकोसला केवल कुछ सरकारी कर्मचारियों के पेट पालने के लिए ही है ।

आदिवासियों ने खुद जो उत्थान कार्य आरम्भ किया था उसको बन्द करने का श्रय भी इसी विभाग को प्राप्त है ।

मैं तो भारत सरकार को सुझाऊँगा कि अनुदान का एक भाग प्रत्येक राज्य के आदिवासियों को सीधे देना चाहिए । ताकि शराब-बन्दी, आचार-विचार, असभ्य और खर्चीले रीति-



सुधार तथा सुरक्षा-सुविधाओं और सरकारी पशु योजनाओं का प्रचार-आदिवासियों में हो सके ।  
 में अपने राज्य, मध्यप्रदेश, का प्रचार-भार सम्हालने के लिए प्रस्तुत हैं ।

### आदिवासियों की वैधानिक सुरक्षा

(ए) आदिवासियों की भूमि की रक्षा के लिए विभिन्न राज्यों में विभिन्न कानून हैं । सन् १९३६ से म० प्र० में लैण्ड एलियनेशन एक्ट लागू था । फिर भी आदिवासियों की सहस्रों एकड़ ज़मीन निकल गयी । अब इस एक्ट में कुछ सुधार भी किया गया है । फिर भी ज़मीन का निकलना रुक नहीं पाया है । इसी वर्ष अपने राज्य के कृषि मंत्री तथा प्रत्येक विभाग के जिला अधिकारी के साथ में जन-सम्पर्क दौरा कर रहा था कि डिंडोरी तहसोल के विक्रमपुर गांव की सभा में ज़मीन बेचने की एक दरखास्त मंत्रों महोदय के हाथ में आयी और एक भयंकर अनाचार की पोल खुली । मंत्री महोदय के पूछने पर उस दीन कृषक ने बताया—“ज़मीन नहीं बेचना चाहता, साहब । यह तो कुआं की तकावी की अर्जी है । मंजूर हो जाय सिर-कार ।” खोजबीन करने पर पता चला कि यह कृपा विक्रमपुर के सभ्य की है जो निकटवर्ती जाम-गांव बिल्हेज-पंचायत का चेयरमैन है । चेयरमैनी के नशे में इस सभ्य ने कसाई सोंढा, केवलारी, बटौधा गुवरा, खम्हरिया आदि गांवों में भी यही कृत्य किया है । जांच तो शुरू हो गयी थी पर अब क्या हुआ कौन जाने । उनकी ज़मीनें उन्हें मिल गयीं या उन्हें धमकाकर गांव से निकाल दिया गया—ऐसा होना सम्भव है क्योंकि छोटे पुलिस और राजस्व विभाग के कर्मचारा भी इस षडयंत्र में शामिल थे । इसी प्रकार मंडला के रजिस्ट्रार ने, बिना जिलाधीश की आज्ञा के, आदिवासियों की ज़मीनें गैर-आदिवासियों के नाम रजिस्टर कर दी हैं । ये सब कुचक्र सरकारी कर्मचारियों की अभिसंधि से चलते हैं । ऐसे अपराधियों की कान्ति-कारी सजा दी जानी चाहिए और जिलाध्यक्ष को इस ओर कड़ी नज़र रखना चाहिए नहीं तो वैधानिक सुरक्षा का अपमान होता रहेगा और आदिवासियों का नाश ।

(बी) संविधान की पंचम अनुसूची की कंडिका ५ पैरा २ (ख) में आदिवासियों में भूमि वितरण का उल्लेख भी है । किन्तु अभी तक इस सम्बन्धमें कुछ नहीं हो रहा है ।

(सी) उपरोक्त कंडिका के (ग) के अनुसार साहूकारी सम्बन्धी विनियमन के सम्बन्ध में म० प्र० सरकार ने बताया है कि साहूकारी एक्ट अनुसूचित क्षेत्र में लागू है । यह तो पहले भी लागू था (विलोनीकृत रियासतों को छोड़ कर) । किन्तु यह एक्ट आम जनता के लिए बनाया गया था । इसमें आदिवासियों के लेन-देन का खास उल्लेख नहीं है । फिर आदिवासियों की रक्षा कैसे होगी ? कर्ज समझौता बोर्ड का

हवाला भी राज्य सरकार ने दिया है। यह तो बीते युग की कहानी है। यह १९३९-४० में ही समाप्त हो गया और आदिवासियों को कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। इसकी चर्चा मैं १९५२ में इसी परिषद के प्रथम अधिवेशन में अपने लेख में कर चुका हूँ।

पुराने कर्जों में जितने आदिवासी नौकरनामों में फँसे हैं उन्हें शीघ्र ही मुक्त कराना चाहिए।

(डी) १९४२ से मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने लीगल असिस्टेंस एक्ट बनाकर पूरे प्रदेश के आदिवासियों को, गैर आदिवासियों से मुकद्दमा लड़ने के लिए वकील की सहायता दी थी। वह अब बन्द कर दी गयी है। केवल मंडला के जिलाधीश के पास जिले के लिए एक हजार रुपया इस साल भेजा है। पर जब तक आदिवासियों को इस तथ्य का ज्ञान न हो तो क्या लाभ होगा?

आदिवासी मुफ्त ही मुकद्दमों में फँसाये जाते हैं इसलिये प्रत्येक आदिवासी को यह सहायता मिलनी चाहिये।

इसी नवम्बर महीने में जब मैं अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र का दौरा कर रहा था तो मुझे एक नया मामला मिला। छिन्दवाड़ा जिले की लखनादौन तहसील के घनौरा पुलिस स्टेशन के एक गांव में एक पंजाबी कुछ दिनों से आ बसा है। उसने पांच आदिवासियों के नाम पर अलीगढ़ पुलिस का एक जाली वारंट बनाया जिसके मुताबिक उन आदिवासियों को अलीगढ़ कोर्ट में गवाही के लिए हाजिर होना था और उसने उन्हें समझाया कि देखो, इतनी दूर आने-जाने में बहुत पैसा लगेगा; पेशियां भी दर्जनों होंगी। कुछ खर्च-वर्च दो तो मैं तुम्हें बचा सकता हूँ। चार लोगों ने तो कुछ ले-देकर फ़ैसला कर लिया। एक अलीगढ़ जाने को तैयार हो गया। उसने यह वारण्ट एक वकील को दिखाया। उस वकील ने अलीगढ़ कोर्ट से लिखा-पढ़ी की। वहाँ से खबर आयी कि वारण्ट जाली है। इसकी रिपोर्ट जिलाध्यक्ष को की गयी। जांच हो रही है, किन्तु क्या वे गरीब आदिवासी सबूत जुटा सकेंगे? जिस आदिवासी ने दौड़-धूप की, वकील की फीस दी वह, निर्दोष क्या और रकम लगाकर मामला आगे बढ़ा सकेगा? इसलिए सरकार को चाहिए कि वह आदिवासियों को अवश्य कानूनी सहायता दे।

(ई) पहले जो मामले जाति-पंचायत में तय हो जाते थे अब न्याय पंचायत में जाने लगे। पंच-दण्ड यह जाति-पंचायत का ऐतिहासिक अधिकार है; किन्तु न्याय-पंचायत के सदस्य अपना उल्लू सीधा करने के लिए लोगों को पट्टी पढ़ाकर जाति-पंचायतों पर नालिश करवाते हैं; सब पंचों पर डिग्री देते और जुर्माने करते हैं। जिन जाति-पंचायतों के सहारे आज तक आदिवासी संस्कृति टिकी हुई थी वह अब विप का प्याला हो गयी है। आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में उस समय तक न्याय-पंचायत नहीं खोलना चाहिए जब तक चार-पाँच पढ़े-लिखे सुसंस्कृत आदिवासी यह जिम्मेदारी सम्हालने को न मिल जायें।

## आदिवासियों का स्वास्थ्य

स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में जितना भी लिखा जाय कम है। गरीबी, अज्ञानता और भौगोलिक परिस्थिति में क्या किया जा सकता है? शहरों में मुर्गी और कुत्ते का उपचार होता है पर इनका इलाज करने वाला तो भगवान् ही है। इनके गाँवों में तो जचकी करने वाली देशी दाइयाँ भी नहीं हैं। वे रहेंगी भी क्यों? इनके पास उसे देने के लिए क्या है? आदिवासी महिलाएँ जचकी तक खेत-खलिहान, जंगल-पहाड़ में काम करती हैं। झाड़ू देते हुए जचकी हुई तो बच्चे का नाम झाड़ू रख दिया, गोबर फेंकते समय तो गोबर, खेत में तो खेत, जंगल में तो जंगल। इनका नाम ही इनका जन्म स्थान बता देता है। नर्सिंग और मिडवाइफरी का शिक्षण अच्छी बात है। किन्तु अधिक अच्छा तो यह है कि इनका जीवन-स्तर ऊँचा किया जाय। इनकी आवश्यकताएँ बढ़ेंगी तो इन्हें पैसे की कीमत मालूम होगी; पैसा कमाने में दिलचस्पी पैदा होगी फिर ये लूट से बच सकेंगे। तात्पर्य यह है कि अनेक समस्याएँ इस एक हल पर ही आधारित हैं। ये दूध-घी तो दूर, तेल तक नहीं चखते। इनकी रसना सूखी हो गयी है। अच्छा खाना उन्हें नहीं लुभा सकता। आदिवासी महिलाओं को प्रसव-सहायता पहुँचाते समय सरकार यह ध्यान रखे कि देहाती अनुपात में उनका उपचार हो; नहीं तो वे इतनी कमजोर हो जावेंगी कि कड़े परिश्रम के योग्य नहीं रहेंगी। साथ ही यह भी ध्यान रखा जाय कि इनकी धार्मिक भावनाओं को चोट न पहुँचे। आदिवासी युवतियों को नर्स और मिडवाइफ का शिक्षण देते समय यह ध्यान में रखा जाय कि शहर की ओर उनका झुकाव न हो जाए। बच्चों के कल्याण के लिए गाँव के मास्टर (शिक्षक) को ही दो-तीन माह की ट्रेनिंग दे दी जाय। वयस्कों के साधारण उपचार के लिए गाँव के पटेल को प्रशिक्षित किया जावे। यह क्रम दो-तीन वर्षों तक चले। जब आदिवासियों का झुकाव इस ओर हो जाय तो बड़ी योजना का प्रयोग किया जाय क्योंकि बड़ी योजना की खुद तो उलझनें हैं ही किन्तु कहीं आदिवासियों ने असहयोग कर दिया तो कठिनाई और बढ़ जावेगी। क्रमिक प्रयोग से योजना स्वयं विकसित होगी और सफल बनेगी।

## आदिवासियों की सामाजिक आदतें

आदिवासी स्वभाव से ही जुए से अनभिज्ञ हैं। शर्त बंदना तो चलता है किन्तु व्यसन के रूप में नहीं, बरन् मानव-स्वभाव के अनुरूप। जिस दिन जुआ पेशा बनकर आदिवासियों में घुस जायगा उस दिन को मैं धन्य मानूँगा क्योंकि आज विश्व की नम्रन विक्रमिता मभ्यताओं में जुआ अंतिम स्पर्श माना जाता है। शराब के अतिरिक्त ये और किन्हीं मादक द्रव्य या पदार्थ का उपयोग नहीं करते। शराब पीने के अनेक कारणों में यह एक प्रमुख कारण है कि इनकी मान्यता है इनकी पूजा-आर्चा शराब के सिवाय नहीं हो सकती। इस विचारधारा के सहायक हैं इनके पुजारी, साहूकार, शराब के ठेकेदार तांत्रिक आदि।

कानून इनसे बँर बढ़ा सकता है पर शराब की आदत नहीं छोड़ा सकता। मैं अपने अनेक वर्षों के प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव और प्रयोग के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ कि इनकी जाति-पंचायतें अल्प समय में ही शराब बन्दी कर लेती हैं। केवल, इनकी विचारधारा के कुछ स्वार्थी साथी ममम्यागं और बाधाएं उत्पन्न कर देते हैं। अच्छे कार्यों में तो ऐसा होता ही है। यदि सरकार जाति-पंचायतों की संरक्षण दे तो बड़ी सफलता से शराब बन्दी होगी।

## आदिवासी, उच्च शिक्षा और छात्रवृत्ति

संस्कार उच्च शिक्षा के लिए आदिवासियों को अधिक से अधिक छात्र-वृत्तियाँ देने की कृपा करे। जब तक उच्च शिक्षा देकर आदिवासी नेतृत्व कायम नहीं किया जाता तब तक आदिवासी उत्थान का दावा निराधार रहेगा। नेतृत्वहीन उत्थान दकोमन्दा मात्र होगा। यह विशेष ध्यान देने योग्य बात है कि उन्नत आदिवासी ई-आई इन छात्रवृत्तियों का अनुचित लाभ न उठा सके। वैधानिक वृत्ति को मुधारा जाय और आदिवासी ईमादियों को उनकी जनसंख्या के अनुपात में ही छात्रवृत्तियाँ और मुक्ति सेवाएं दी जायें। अन्यथा आदिवासियों के लिए "मांगन गयी पून हिरा आई मुद्दाग" वाली कहावत चरितार्थ होगी।

## आदिवासी-अनादिवासी सम्पर्क

वर्तमान परिस्थिति में तो आदिवासी और अनादिवासी सम्पर्क तो चूहे और बिल्ली के सम्पर्क के समान है। जब तक आदिवासियों का सामाजिक और उद्योग-जैवा नहीं उठाया जावेगा तब तक यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण कम चपल रहेगा। संस्कार की चाहिए कि वह उस द्वेष को मिटाने के लिए आदिवासियों के सांस्कृतिक मन्दिर और प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल इनके राज्य में भेजे जिसका नेतृत्व कोई आदिवासी ही करे और उन मण्डलों में मन्दल द्वारा नामजद किए हुए अनादिवासी मन्दल भी हों जो अपने छात्र-का परिचय इनके राज्य में दें। इसी प्रकार के कुछ मन्दल विद्वानों को भेजे जायें; मण्डल के चुनाव में सदस्यों के अग्रणी नाम का ध्यान न रखा जावे किन्तु वास्तविक प्रतिनिधित्व का ध्यान अवश्य रखा जावे। इस योजना में संस्कार की ईर्ष्या नहीं चाहिए। नव आदिवासी लोग देश-विदेश का उन्नत करने में उन्हें संवेदनशील का भूत होंगे और व्यापकता का प्रादुर्भाव।

शीघ्र ही ग्रहण कर लेते हैं। जाति-पंचायतें भी इस काम को सफलतापूर्वक कर सकती हैं। एक प्रकार से अज्ञान के कारण ये जाति-पंचायतें ही नये कानूनों की विरोधी होती हैं। यदि ये ही सरकारी मुहरों में परिणत कर ली जाय तो आशातीत सफलता प्राप्त होगी। सरकार का काम केवल यह रह जाता है कि वह आदिवासी नेताओं और मुखियों के दौरे के साधनों का प्रबन्ध करे। राज्य सरकारें यह उत्तरदायित्व भली-भाँति सम्हाल सकती हैं।

पत्र सं० १६

## श्री बाबूनाथसिंह एम. पी. (मध्यप्रदेश)

### (१) आदिवासियों की भूमि सम्बन्धी समस्याएं

आदिवासी प्रायः जंगल में ही रहते हैं। वे किसी भी कीमत पर वहाँ से हटने के लिए तैयार नहीं होते। खेती-बाड़ी की जो सुविधाएँ उन्हें जंगल में प्राप्त हैं उसे वे शहरी इलाके में नहीं पा सकते, फिर शहरी खेत बहुत महंगा पड़ता है जिसका खर्च उठाने की शक्ति आदिवासियों में नहीं होती। यदि वह शक्ति उनके पास हुई भी तो वे अन्य उन्नत वर्ग द्वारा इस प्रकार अस्त किये जाते हैं कि विवश उन्हें जंगलों में लौटना पड़ता है। यदि यह सब कुछ नहीं भी हुआ तो उन्हें शहरी अन्न और शहरी वातावरण में रुचि नहीं है। वहाँ उनका दम घुटने लगता है। उन्हें साधारण ज़मीन पर उपजाया हुआ साधारण अन्न और जंगल का वातावरण बहुत प्रिय है। वात अनूठी अवश्य है किन्तु उसके प्रत्यक्ष उदाहरण भी कम नहीं हैं। लगभग तीन-चार वर्ष हुए सुरगुजा (म० प्र०) जिले की—अम्बिकापुर तहसील के अम्बिकापुर नामक नगर के पास कुछ कौखा और कुछ पण्डों कबील बसाए गए। पण्डों कबीले के पुनर्वास-क्षेत्र का नाम पंडो नगर रखा गया और कौखा का कौखा नगर। पहिला नगर अम्बिकापुर के पूर्व में और दूसरा पश्चिम में है। उनके रहने के लिए निवास का मुफ्त प्रबन्ध किया गया था। उन्हें जमीन बैल और बीज भी मुफ्त दिये गए थे। इतना होने के बाद भी ये दोनों कबीले क्षुब्ध हैं और एक-एक कर जंगल की ओर भाग रहे हैं। सम्भवतः कुछ दिनों में ये दोनों नगर वीरान हो जायेंगे।

दूसरा उदाहरण भी देखिये—सुरगुजा जिला के सामरी तहसील के एक जंगल में एक आदिवासी कृषक बस गया। वहाँ थोड़ा जंगल काटकर खेती भी

कर ली। कुछ दिनों के बाद जंगल का एक अधिकारी उस जगह पहुँचा और उस कृषक को वहाँ से हटने की आज्ञा दी। कृषक ने अपनी लाचारी बताते हुए हटने से नाहीं की। इस पर उस अधिकारी ने कृषक की झोंपड़ी में आग लगा दी। अब देखने की बात यह है कि किसान का काम गैर कानून होते हुए भी आदिवासी स्वभाव का ज्वलंत उदाहरण है। गांव का सोधा-सादा आदिवासी भी अपनी खेतों के प्रेम के कारण एक जंगल अधिकारी की अवज्ञा कर सका। यह बात तो माननी ही पड़ेगी कि आदिवासियों को जंगलों से बड़ा प्रेम है। यह उदाहरण सरकार के लिए प्रकाश-स्तम्भ है। सरकार को चाहिए कि आदिवासियों को बसाने या ज़मीन देते समय यह ध्यान रखा जाय कि उक्त स्थान का वातावरण आदिवासियों की रुचि के अनुकूल हो।

एक बात और है। ये आदिवासी शिफ्टिंग कल्टिवेशन को बहुत पसंद करते हैं। इस ढंग से उनके भीतर दबी हुई मानव की आदिम प्रवृत्ति को शान्ति प्राप्त होती है। किन्तु इससे कीमती जंगलों को भी बहुत नुकसान पहुँचता है। सरकार को चाहिए कि इन आदिवासियों को जंगल में ही जमीनें दें ताकि वे शिफ्ट कल्टिवेशन द्वारा जंगलों की अपरिमित हानि न कर सकें। साथ ही उन्हें सुख शान्ति से जीवन बिताने का अवसर मिले और वे ठगे जाने से वंचित रहें।

## (२) शिक्षा

मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र में प्राइमरी स्कूल तो काफी खुल गये हैं और उनमें लड़के पढ़ने जाने लगे हैं किन्तु शिक्षक लोग बहुत लापरवाह हैं। वे प्रायः गैर हाज़िर रहते हैं। वास्तव में होता यह है कि ये शिक्षक शहर में नार्मल स्कूल की परीक्षा पास करके आते हैं। इसी कारण ये शिक्षक चाहते हैं कि जंगल के विद्यार्थी भी शहरी लड़कों की भांति शीघ्र ही किसी चीज़ को समझ लें और शहर के लड़कों की तरह ही व्यवहार करें किन्तु मनोवैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से यह सम्भव नहीं है। इसलिए सरकार को चाहिए कि वह आदिवासी स्कूलों के शिक्षकों की ट्रेनिंग के लिए एक अलग शिक्षा क्रम बनाए जो आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों के लिये उपयुक्त हो सके। इससे एक यह लाभ भी होगा कि गांव का मास्टर शहर के स्कूलों में भाग कर नहीं जा सकेगा। मेरा अनुभव है कि देहात के प्राइमरी तथा मिडिल स्कूल से जो विद्यार्थी शहर के हाईस्कूल में भर्ती होने जाता है तो उसे वहाँ जगह नहीं मिलती। इसका कारण यही है जो प्राइमरी स्कूलों का है। ये विद्यार्थी उतने चुस्त लायक नहीं होते जितने कि शहर के विद्यार्थी होते हैं। सरकार को इसके बारे में भी बहुत ध्यान देना चाहिए। या तो सरकार आदिवासियों के लिये अलग हाई स्कूल बनाय

या सरकारी और गैर सरकारी स्कूलों में आदिवासी विद्यार्थियों के लिए स्थान सुरक्षित रखे ।

### (३) आदिवासी संस्कृति

आदिवासी अपनी संस्कृति के बहुत प्रेमी होते हैं । संस्कृति समारोहों और सम्मिलित पूजा-पाठ में अमीर-गरीब का कोई प्रश्न नहीं होता । अपनी संस्कृति को नहीं मानने वाले सदस्य को तो वे जाति तक से निकाल देते हैं । आदिवासियों की इस संस्कृति कट्टरता का फायदा बहुत से गैर आदिवासी और खास करके ईसाई लोग उठा रहे हैं । आदिवासियों में एक नियम है जिसे शायद बहुत कम लोग जानते होंगे । यदि किसी आदिवासी को कोई गैर आदिवासी जूता मार दे तो वह आदिवासी जाति से निकाल दिया जाता है, और बहुत कुछ खर्च बर्च करने के बाद जाति में आता है । किन्तु यदि यही बात किसी आदिवासी महिला के साथ हो तो वह जन्म भर जाति में वापिस नहीं लौ जाती । इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि गैर आदिवासी जूते का डर बताकर आदिवासियों को मन चाहा लूट लेते हैं । ईसाई लोग तो और आगे बढ़ गये हैं । वे भोले-भाले आदिवासियों को पैसे का प्रलोभन दिखाकर बाद में उनके धर्म का परिवर्तन करते हैं । लड़कों के सिर के बाल तक काट डालते हैं । बालों का काटना भी असांस्कृतिक है । वहाँ मैजिस्ट्रेट के पास इस प्रकार की घटनाओं की बहुत सी रिपोर्ट दर्ज है । और जब मैंने अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र का दौरा किया तो मेरे सुनने में भी ऐसी ही बातें आयीं ।

### (४) आदिवासी स्वास्थ्य

वैसे आदिवासी दिखने को बहुत स्वस्थ दिखते हैं । किन्तु यह भी सत्य है कि हजारों आदिवासी मामूली बुखारों में भी दवा की कमी के कारण मर जाते हैं इनकी बीमारी का कारण दरिद्रता, गंदगी और अपर्याप्त भोजन ही है । पानी भी इनकी मौत का कारण है । गाँवों में पानी की कोई सुविधा नहीं है । गर्मी में जब नाले सूख जाते हैं तो ये ढबरों का सड़ा पानी पीते हैं जो इनकी मौत का कारण बनता है । इनके पास इतने कपड़े भी नहीं हैं कि ये ठंड से अपना बचाव कर सकें । होता यह है कि वे निमोनिया के शिकार बनकर मर जाते हैं । गरीब-निमोनियों को भूत-प्रेत का प्रकोप मानकर मंत्र-तंत्र में ही लगे रहते हैं और रोगी मर जाता है । सरकार को चाहिए कि वह हर आदिवासी तहसील में दौरा अस्पताल कायम करे ।

## श्री रनदमनसिंह एम. पी. (विन्ध्य प्रदेश)

आदिवासियों को इस नवीन युग की वर्तमान सभ्यता में लाने के लिये केन्द्रिय सरकार द्वारा जो योजनायें और प्रयास सद्भावना के साथ उनके प्रति अमल में लाये जा रहे हैं उसके प्रति हम सरकार के आभारी हैं और भविष्यके लिए सही कामना करते हैं कि यदि सरकार की नीति व सद्भावना में कोई परिवर्तन न हुआ तो चन्द्र वर्षों के प्रयास से हम लोग निश्चय ही उन्नति पथ पर आजायेंगे।

२. चूँकि सरकार की यह सच्ची सहानुभूति होते हुए भी शासन शैली के बीच में बहुत कुछ त्रुटियाँ अब भी वर्तमान हैं जो कि यह त्रुटियाँ केन्द्र की ही नहीं बल्कि विचवाइकों, पदाधिकारियों तथा प्रान्तीय सरकारों से सम्बन्धित हैं, अब यह कहा नहीं जा सकता कि ऐसी त्रुटियों को वे जान बूझ कर कायम रखे हुए हैं या नसमझी से, जिसके कारण हमारे आदिवासी भाई चने की तरह पिस रहे हैं और उनके पिसने की ऐसी अनेक चक्कियाँ हैं व जिस पिसने की दर्द से उनको आह भरी करुण आवाज चारों ओर से उठ रही है परन्तु इतने पर भी पदाधिकारियों व उनके सहयोगी कार्यकर्ताओं के कान खड़े नहीं होते, आखिर असहाय व अपने को असमर्थ पाकर हतास हो बैठ जाते हैं जिसके कारण उनकी शैक्षिक, आर्थिक, उद्योगिक, तथा सामाजिक प्रगति में उनके सामने एक महान घातक चित्र खड़ा हो जाता है, जिससे उनके दिल व दिमाग पर एक ऐसा धक्का लगता है कि वे सर उठाकर देखने से भी असमर्थ हो जाते हैं। यदि हमारी सरकार ऐसी कटीले व घातक बोछारों से हमें बचा सुरक्षित कर ले तो फिर हम लोगों का रास्ता साफ़ हो जाय और तीव्र गति से अग्रसर होने की सारी योजनायें सफल हो सकें। हम लोगों की आपत्तियाँ निम्न-लिखित हैं जो हमें पग २ परचलने में रोक डालती हैं। और हम आगे नहीं बढ़ पाते।

३. आदिवासियों की संस्कृति पर प्रहार—आदिवासियों में ईमानदारी, सचाई, सहिष्णुता, भोलापन, विश्वास, सहृदयता, गरीबी, सत्यता, संकोच व एकान्त वास की भावना कूट २ कर भरी होती है, यह उनकी संस्कृति का प्रभाव है। कोई विशेष कारण वश यदि कोई जानमारी या कत्ल का जुर्म कर डाले तो उसको वे हर्गिज नहीं छिपायेंगे बल्कि अपने आप थाने में पहुँचकर उस जुर्म की रिपोर्ट लिखा देते हैं और साफ़ २-हत्या केस का कारण बताकर अपनी गलती अपने ऊपर ले लेते हैं यह उनकी ईमानदारी व सच्चाई का प्रतीक है वाद में उनको फाँसी ही क्यों न हो जाय परन्तु ईमानदारी व सच्चाई के लिए वे अपनी जान की पर



करते। इसी तरह यदि कोई अपना स्वार्थसाधन के लिये नाजायज़, आर्थिक, या शारीरिक दबाव डालकर उनके साथ कठोरता का व्यवहार करे तो उसे भी भोलापन के कारण बहुत कुछ हद तक बरदास्त कर जायेंगे, किन्तु सवर्ण लोग इस सहनशीलता का अनुचित लाभ उठा लेते हैं जैसे बिना मजदूरी दिये काम लेना, बेगार कराना, अनैतिक चन्दा लेना इत्यादि परन्तु फिर भी संकोच व डर वश उन्हें इस कार्य को करना ही पड़ता है यह उनकी सहनशीलता व भोलापन का कारण है।

इसी प्रकार बहुत से दुराचारी लोग व्यवहारिक बर्ताव का—ऊपरी प्रेम से बैठाना, बुलाना, बीड़ी तमाखू, या चूंगी पिला खिलाकर—प्रलोभन देकर अपने को उनका हितैषी व विश्वास-पात्र का परिचय दिला कर ऐसी दाव चलायेंगे कि उनकी आर्थिक या सामाजिक प्रगति पर ऐसा कुप्रभाव व असर पड़ेगा कि वे बेचारे उस दुष्परिणाम को समझ तक भी नहीं पायेंगे, यह उनका सीधापन व बिना सोचे विचारे विश्वास-पात्र मान लेने का कारण है। इसके अलावा आदिवासियों का सामाजिक रसम, रिवाज, खानपान, आचार-विचार, वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध, व मातृभाषा, एक और ही किस्म की है जो हिन्दुओं अर्थात् सवर्ण कहाने वालों के प्राचीन इतिहासों व शास्त्रों के सिद्धान्तों से कुछ मिलती जुलती है जिसको सवर्ण लोग आज के युग में उस प्रथा व मातृ भाषा की अशिक्षा या असभ्यता का युग बताकर बहिष्कार करते हैं। इसी तरह पुरानी प्रथाओं रिवाजों व भाषाओं को अपनाये हुये आदिवासियों के संगीत नृत्य, कला व सत्य परायणता को देखकर उनकी सद्गुणमय संस्कृति का उपहास करके सवर्ण लोग नष्ट करना चाहते हैं। आदिवासियों की एक विशेषता और है कि वे अपनी स्त्री को डौकी कहते हैं इनमें आपसी विशेष प्रेम होता है। कभी २ कोई २ लोग दो तीन शादियां कर लेते हैं जो सामाजिक रीति के अनुचित नहीं माना जाता। अपनी जाति के अन्दर एक या दो तीन कर लें या बगैर शादी के रखलें, यह दूसरी बात है परन्तु अन्य किसी सवर्ण या हरिजनों की स्त्रियों से इनका सम्पर्क किसी तरह नहीं होता, और जहां इनकी मजदूरी या जीविका का आधार हो तो अपने उस मालिक के लिये उसकी मजदूरी देने के एहसान में अपने को निछावर कर देते हैं, चाहे उस मजदूरी से उनकी जीविका में कमी क्यों न हो पर उस मालिक या किसान के साथ हमेशा एसहानमन्द और उसके विश्वास-पात्र बने रहेंगे। ऐसे निर्दोष जीवन चरित्र वाले आदिवासियों पर उनके असली तत्व, गुण, व सिद्धान्तों का जानकारी न करके उनकी अनेक बुराईयों की गाथा गाकर उनकी संस्कृति पर प्रहार किया जाता है। केन्द्रीय सरकार से विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि आदिवासियों की संस्कृति को सुरक्षित रखने में पूर्ण सहयोग दें।

४. आदिवासियों की रहन सहन से बचाव करना—चूँकि आदिवासी

लोग आमतौर पर जंगलों व पहाड़ों के बीच बसने के आदि होते हैं उसका खास कारण यह है कि ये लोग निर्धन तो होते ही हैं अतएव अर्थहीनतावश ये मैदानों इलाकों में नहीं बस सकते हैं, क्योंकि (१) खाना भोजन की कमी को पूरा करने के लिये जंगल का कंदमूल, फल पत्ते इत्यादि से वंचित हो जायेंगे, दूर हो जाने की वजह से हमेशा समय पर अपना भोजन सम्बन्धी सामग्री प्राप्त नहीं कर पायेंगे । (२) दूसरा भोजन का जरिया जंगली जानवरों व पक्षियों का शिकार भी हमेशा नहीं मार पायेंगे । जिससे भोजन की कमी हमेशा बनी रहेगी (३) मछली मार कर खाना यह भी एक भोजन का सहारा है जो आमतौर से पहाड़ी ही नदियों में पाई जाती हैं (४) हल बैल की कमी के कारण जंगलों में डहिया जलाकर वगैर जोते कुछ अनाज पैदा कर लेते हैं जो दो-चार महीने का सहारा हो जाता है वह भी मैदान में बसने से नहीं कमा पायेंगे, अन्यथा भूखों मरेंगे या आधे पेट की मजदूरी से अपना दुखमय जीवन बितायेंगे । (५) धनाभाव के कारण कपड़े की भी संकेती आयेगी, इस कमी को पूरा करने के लिये जंगल में बसकर पर्याप्त जलाऊ लकड़ी जलाने को पा सकेंगे । मकान और भोपड़ी बनाने में सहूलियत होगी । (६) ये हमेशा शिकार खेलने के आदि होते हैं जो मैदानों में वह सहूलियत नहीं होती । (७) मैदानी इलाकों में हर किस्म के लोग बसते हैं जिसके कारण इनकी आजादी को धक्का पहुँचता है, जिसको ये बरदास्त नहीं कर सकते, न इनको कोई राजनीति से मतलब, न कोई दुनियादारी से मतलब और न कोई भगड़े फिसाद से कोई सम्बन्ध । सबर्णों को तो चाहे व खाकी कपड़े या सफेद कपड़े पहिने हों देखते ही इतना डर जाते हैं कि जितना जंगली जानवर शेर को देखकर भी नहीं डरते । सरकारी मुलाजिमों पुलिस वगैरः को तो देखते ही उनके होश का ठिकाना नहीं रहता, इसका खास कारण है कि उक्त आदमियों द्वारा ये लोग सदियों से दबाये, कुचले, बेगार पकड़े और अनेकों झूठमूठ का इल्जाम लगा कर उनके सब धर्म को

वनाने के लिये कोई काठ बाँस नहीं, वेधरवार के हो गये, न जेब में पैसा है कि किसी प्रकार घूस बगैर देकर अपना काम चला सकें, न उनकी कोई फ़रियाद सुनता कि तुम्हें क्या तकलीफ़ है। टैक्सों को तो भरमार हो गई, यहां तक की जंगल के हर एक पैदावार मामूली घास से लेकर तमाम फल फूल व दरख्तों इत्यादि सब पर टैक्स घास में चर टैक्स, बगई में टैक्स जो चार पाई के लिये घास काटी जाती है, जंगली सूखी लकड़ी जो बोन कर भी लाते हैं उस पर भी दो आना चार आना मुड़बोझा टैक्स, तमाम फल फूलों पर टैक्स, माकान बनाने के लिये ज़रूरी काठ बाँस पर टैक्स जहां देखो वहां टैक्स ही टैक्स। एक तरफ़ आदिवासियों के उत्थान व कल्याण का ढिंढोरा पीटा जा रहा है तो एक तरफ़ टैक्सों व वेदखली की जंजीरों से उनके हाथ पैर जकड़े जा रहे हैं। यह है आदिवासियों के उत्थान की कल्याण योजना, जिसके लिये आदिवासी लोग कराह रहे हैं और लालाझत हो इधर उधर दौड़ रहे हैं, पर शरण का कहीं ठिकाना नहीं लगता। क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार व प्रान्तीय सरकारें इस दुख भरी कहानी पर भी ध्यान देंगी। कम से कम उनके जीवन विस्तार के लिये भी तो जंगल बहाल किये जायें।

५. **आदिवासियों का दैनिक जीवन**—अगर ये लोग किसी प्रकार अपने लिये दो लंगोटी या पंचा औरत बच्चों के लिये थोड़ा वदन ढकने लायक धोती या खड्डुआ प्राप्त कर लें तो फिर ज्यादा कपड़े की कोई परवाह नहीं सिर्फ़ आगी लकड़ी की कमी न हो, इसी तरह एक दो दिन या रबी फसल के बक्त १०, ५ दिन के भोजन को गल्ला घर में हो जाय तो फिर ये लोग बिना चुनाव के स्वतन्त्र एम० एल० ए० बन जाते हैं, उस दरमियान में वे फिर शिकार का खेलना या घूमना कहीं गप्पे मारना और टाइम से भोजन खाना दिन का प्रोग्राम और रात को कहीं सैला या कर्मा का नृत्य संगीत के साथ शुरू कर देना और कभी नृत्य के रंग में लुप्त होकर कितनी ही ठंडी वाली रात क्यों न हो वह ठंडी उनके वदन को छू तक नहीं पाती न उन्हें यह महसूस होता कि आज ठंडी है या नहीं और बराबर उनकी रसभरी सुरीली तान व मृदंग की चौमुखी ताल की चिनगारी आकाश में गूँजती रहती है। जब कभी खाना खतम हुआ तब कहीं जंगल की तरफ़ दौड़ना या एग्रेण्ड मजदूरी की तलाश करना इसके अलावा उन्हें कोई बात की परवाह नहीं होती। कमी क्या स्वतंत्र जीवन का स्वभाव होता है। क्या सरकार इनकी स्वतन्त्रता की भी विश्वास-पात्र जो सदियों से अपनाये आ रहे हैं।

**असली तत्व, गुणस्थियों का शोषण**—शोषण कई प्रकार से किया जाता है। की गाथा गाकर उन केराना के लेन देन में शोषण होता है यानि कर्ज विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि भैखी, लेने के अलावा मनमानी व्याज डेवड़ा या इससे सहयोग दें।

४. **आदिवासियों की रहन**—वक्त उस चोटा कड्डुआ व नपौखी का भी मूल

व्याज असली मूल व्याज के अलावा ले लेना जिससे ऋणी को दुगुने से भी अधिक देना पड़ता है। परन्तु अकाल या बेरोजगारी के समय अन्नाभाव के कारण उन्हें मजबूर होकर इस तरह का कर्ज लेना ही पड़ता है।

इसी तरह महाजन दुकानदार लोग भी केराना आदि के लेन देन में दोतर्फी फ़ायदा मार देते हैं, याने अपने माल-सामान पर सवाई डेवढ़े का फ़ायदा लेकर सामान देना और उनसे कीमत के वजाय कोई गल्ला या तेलहन सौदे का नियमित भाव से सवाई डेवढ़ा बढ़ाकर ही लेना, इस तरह से महाजन लोग भी दुगुना से अधिक मार देते हैं, पास में नकद रकम न होने की वजह से उन्हें मजबूर होकर अधिक भाव में देना ही पड़ता है। सरकार को चाहिये कि सहकारी समितियों या गल्ला के कोटाओं द्वारा पूंजीपतियों व व्यापारियों के इस दुर्व्यवहार से पीछा छुड़ाये।

(ए) जमींदार लोगों ने तो भूमि हीनों को बेदखल करके और अत्याचार मचवा दिया। जिन जमीनों को छोटे किसान जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पहिले पाये हुए थे और उन्हें वे बेचारे अपना कवजा समझकर मावजा चुकाने के बाद उस जमीन को खाद गोबर डालकर तथा मेंड़ बाँध कर अधिक अन्न उपजाओ योजना को सुनकर उपजाऊ बना लिये थे उस पर भी बहुत से जमींदार लोग आधी पर बटाई और भाग ले लेते थे। जिससे उनकी मेहनत से कमाया हुआ धन उनके पास बहुत कम रह जाता था और जमींदार नाजायज़ फ़ायदा ले लेते थे। इससे उन कमाने वालों के पास खाने का गल्ला कम पड़ जाता था। क्या वर्तमान सरकार इस अंधेर ख़ाते से गरीबों को मुक्ति प्रदान करेगी प्रार्थना है कि सरकार ध्यान दे।

(बी) जंगल के मुलाजमान और ठेकेदार—आदिवासियों का आम निर्वाह व जीविका का खास जरिया जंगल है जिसके वारे में कुछ प्रकाश डाल चुका हूँ कि धनाभाव व भोजन की कमी को पूरा करने का मुख्य सहारा जंगल है, यानि

से खोले जायें और उनके उत्थान के लिये प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय जो आदिवासी सहकारी समितियों के नियन्त्रण में हों ।

(ई) रहन-सहन—उनकी रहन-सहन में जो सवर्णों का विशेष दबाव है वह दूर किया जाय ताकि दबने की जो उनमें कुप्रवृत्तियाँ हैं वह दूर हो जायें ।

(एफ) सहयोग खेती व व्यवसाय में उन्हें पूरा-पूरा सहयोग दिया जाय और उन्हें लूट खशोट से बचाया जाय ।

(जी) यातायात—यानि आने-जाने की सुविधाओं से जो स्थान वंचित है आवागमन की सुविधायें देकर अवांचित किया जाय । ताकि सवर्णों के सम्पर्क में भी कुछ रुचिकर हो सकें ।

(एच) आदिवासी कमीशन—राज्यों के अन्दर एक २ आदिवासी कमीशन नियुक्त की जाय और वह कमीशन इस बात को मालूम करता रहे कि प्रान्त के अन्दर किन-किन स्थानों में किस कदर जागृति हो रही है और अन्य सवर्णों का व्यवहार उनके साथ किस प्रकार हो रहा है । कमीशन यह भी देखता रहे, कि राज्य के कर्मचारियों द्वारा केन्द्र से दिये गये अनुदान रकमों को किन-किन जिलों में किस तरीके से खर्च किया रहा है यानि आदिवासियों के उत्थानार्थ कल्याण कार्य के बहाने उस धन का अपव्यय तो नहीं हो रहा है । यह भी देखें कि राज्यों के अन्दर खुले हुए आश्रमों व सहकारी समितियों का कार्य संचालन नियमित रूप से हो रहा है या नहीं ।

(आई) आदिवासी एरिया—राज्य के अन्दर जिन क्षेत्रों में आदिवासियों की विशेष आबादी पाई जाती है, ऐसे क्षेत्र आदिवासी एरिया घोषित किये जायें, और उन्हें समुचित सहायता पहुँचाई जाय ।

(जे) आश्रम—आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में जहां घनी आबादी हो वहां हर १५ या २० मील के फासले पर आश्रम खोले जायें और ज्यादा से ज्यादा गरीब बालक व बालिकाओं को आश्रमों द्वारा शिक्षा प्रदान की जाय । इसके अलावा वर्तमान खुले हुए आश्रमों में से प्रत्येक की ग्रांट २५ से अधिक नहीं है अस्तु ग्रांट बढ़ाकर कम से कम ५० या ७५ की संख्या में कर दी जाय ।

(के) प्राथमिकता—उनकी संस्कृति, कला, व संगीत—करमा डांस, सैला कम को प्राथमिकता दी जाय ।

(एच) शिक्षण सहायता—आश्रमों के अलावा सरकारी प्राइमरी स्कूलों असली तत्व, निःशुल्क शिक्षा दी जाय इसके अलावा शिक्षण सहायता में आदिवासी की गाथा गाकर उन्हें विभाजित कर क्रमशः यथा सम्भव सहायता दी जाय :—  
विनम्र प्रार्थना है कि माँ-बाप अपनी कमाई की आमद से अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा सहयोग दें ।

४. आदिवासियों की २.

२. वे विद्यार्थी जिनके गार्डियन अपनी कमाई से किसी कदर खाना कपड़ा तो दे सकते हों परन्तु फ्रीस या स्टेशनरी खर्च न दे सकते हों।

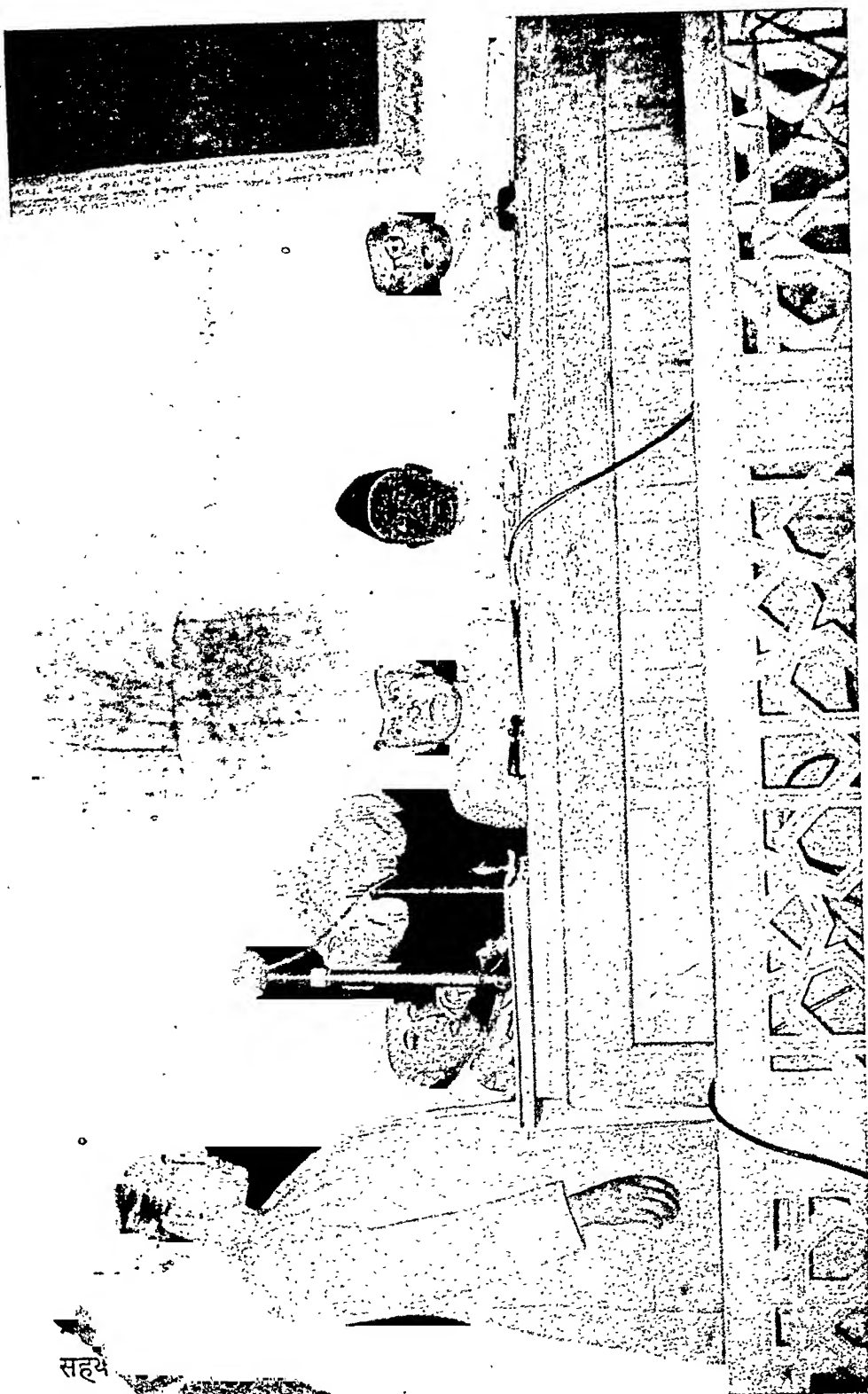
३. वे विद्यार्थी जिनके गार्डियन वित्कुल गरीब मजदूर पैसा के हों और वे खाना कपड़ा कुछ भी नहीं दे सकते हों उनको पूरी सहायता दी जाय क्योंकि बिना सहायता के जब तक वे घर के सब आदमी काम करने नहीं जायेंगे तब तक उनको पेट भर खाना नहीं मिलता, फिर वे लड़कों को कैसे पढ़ायें। शिक्षण सम्बन्धी कार्य की भी देख-रेख कमीशन के अधिकार में हो।

(एम) आदिवासी सलाहकार कौंसिल—संविधान की ५ वीं सूची के अनुसार राज्यों के अन्दर आदिवासी सलाहकार कौंसिल बनाई जाय और वह कौंसिल आर्थिक, शैक्षिक, उद्योगिक, व सामाजिक प्रगति को देखती रहे और समयानुकूल मदद पहुँचाती रहे व कमीशन को भी अपनी सलाह देकर सहयोग देती रहे, और समय २ पर लड़कों को वजीफ़े, स्कालरशिप, व अन्य सहायता देने में खास ध्यान रखे।

(एन) सरकारी नौकरी—पढ़े लिखे व तन्दुरुस्त जवानों को जन औसत के लिहाज से सरकारी प्रत्येक विभागों में नौकरी दिलाई जाय, और उनकी योग्यता-नुसार उच्च पद में भी जगहें दी जाय। जो कि सरकारी घोषणा के लिहाज से यह मालूम है कि दस प्रतिशत जगहें हर एक विभागों में रिजर्व रखी गई हैं परन्तु वह रिजर्वेशन आफ़िस फ़ाइलों व अखबारों तक ही सीमित है, प्रत्यक्ष कोई आदिवासी भर्ती होने के लिये पहुँच जाय तो उसके कोई न कोई शारीरिक दोष निकाल दफ़्तर से वापस कर दिया जाता है। यानि अनफिट हो जाता है। यदि नौकरी की व्यवस्था ठीक हो जाय तो सबसे बड़ा मसला यह हल हो जाय कि उनके बीच फैली हुई बेकारी दूर होने के साथ उनकी रोजी रोटी की भी समस्या दूर हो जाय, और एक दूसरे से मिलने जुलने पर सवर्णों से भी सम्पर्क हो जाय।

(ओ) प्रचार व सुधार में—(क) अब तक प्रचार व सुधार कार्य में सवर्णों के अलावा आदिवासी जाति के एक भी आदमी सरकार को तरफ़ से नहीं रखे गये हैं, जिससे प्रचार कार्य में उनका बहुत कम असर पड़ा है, मैं इसके लिये दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि आदिवासियों की सामाजिक सुधार व कुरी का मूलोच्छेदन तभी होगा जब उनके प्रचारक आदिवासी ही जाति के आ जायेंगे। स्वार्थी जीविका चलाने वाले प्रचारक उनके साथ बैठने में घृणा करते हैं। क्या ऐसे प्रचारकों का उन पर असर पड़ नहीं, जो उन्हें अस्पृश्य या नीच की दृष्टि से व्यवहार करते

(ख) आदिवासियों की कुरीतियाँ दूर करने के



Smt. B. Khongmen M. P. welcoming the delegates

## 1. WELCOME SPEECH

*by*

SMT. B. KHONGMEN M. P.

Mr. President, Dear Prime Minister, Dr. Katju, Ministers-in-charge of Tribal Welfare in States, Tribal members of the Parliament and friends,

I rise to welcome you to this conference for Tribal Welfare. In doing so I feel happy that this long conceived Conference has at last come to materialise. I have great hope that out of your important deliberations will emerge ways and means for betterment of the conditions of the tribal people.

The Constitution of India provides important safeguards for the tribal people in consideration of their backwardness. It is true that there are tribal areas which are more advanced than the others and there are sectors in the same tribal population which are better off than the rest. Yet when the total picture of the tribals as a whole is taken, it will appear that among the peoples of India, the condition of the tribals is very backward. Their economy is rudimentary, their social conditions are primitive, in education they are backward, from the amenities and benefits of the modern life they are deprived.

India presents a varied picture. In social stratification the tribals seem to come limping behind. Yet in a healthy society, it is necessary that, extreme social differences should be ironed out, so that a composite nation might emerge. It is also necessary that this growth might be hastened, that delay might not create new problems.

It is for this reason that the Constitution provides special treatment for the tribals. The Government of India in conformity with the Constitution has been treating the tribals as their special responsibility. It has provided funds specially for the development of the tribals areas. For this the tribals are thankful. Something has been done, a great deal still remains to be done. To that extent responsibility lies with the Government of India.



It is not enough that things be done for us. It is also necessary that there may be an intelligent appreciation and awareness thereof. So the tribals should get together and consider their special problems, and the ways of their solution. Even though the Government be extending a helping hand to us, it is our duty to intelligently grasp it that we may be lifted out of our condition quicker than we otherwise would.

For this purpose certain subjects were chosen, and papers invited on them. Friends from different States have sent these papers. They will be read and discussed in the Conference.

May God bless us with collective wisdom that we may prove equal to the task.

With these few words, friends, I welcome you to the conference and to the task ahead.

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non-tribals are something qualitatively different. I think it is wrong. Take the case of this description in our Constitution or elsewhere of the Scheduled Castes. As you know, it is rather arbitrary. Government after consideration decide whether this is a Scheduled Caste or not. As a matter of fact, you cannot draw a line, a hard and fast line. Of course, ultimately what we should aim at is removal of all these appellations, descriptions, names, etc., which separate ideologically and physically the Depressed Classes—Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and all that. The differences due to geography and climate remain and should remain—the differences in the way of their living, customs and things like that. But this barrier of so and so is a Scheduled Caste should go.

There is at present under Kaka Kalelkar a Backward Classes Commission sitting for a year or two. Many of the Backward Classes are as backward as any of the Scheduled Castes. In fact, they are more backward. The ultimate problem therefore becomes one of helping all those who are backward. Let us recognise one fact, that in India a handful belong to the so-called superior class, and—by 'handful' I mean not very few, but a considerable population of India. Not that they are necessarily different, but because for generations and centuries they have had greater opportunities of growth, education, and better living conditions. Therefore they assumed a relatively more important position in India. Inevitably, of course, some individuals go ahead of others. But I assume that is not a good thing for castes and such like things to be permanently installed in superior positions. Every individual should have such openings. Now, having said that, the ultimate problem is of raising the level of all depressed humanity in India, not this group or that group. We never succeed by taking up one group. If a group deserves encouragement or special help, we should give, of course. That really brings us to the much wider problem of education and employment for everybody. I am not in favour of a large improvement in literary education in India today. We talk of basic education. We generally adopt resolutions about it. The fact is that we have done very little about real basic education in the country. Now education obviously is necessary to everyone. When I say education I do not mean literacy. If we have to progress economically as a country, we must have much wider education.

All these are general observations which apply to tribals as to any other people. All that I would like to stress is that we must cease to think of our being different from the so-called tribal people. It is vicious idea in our mind. a superiority complex which is not there. I can say with complete honesty  
 त्रि far as the tribal people are concerned, some of them have reached a high  
 ४. development. In fact I found that in some places the tribal people  
 educated and disciplined and lead a corporate communal life which,

I think, is far better than the caste-ridden society that we suffer from. There are people among tribals who are very primitive ; there are others who are very well advanced, though in a somewhat different way.

Then again, we in India are being powerfully affected by all kinds of economic problems in the world—what may be called 'Market Economy'. The person who can succeed in that economy has certain qualities. Normally speaking, these tribal areas have not come within the scope of that market economy at all. I am not prepared to accept this high type of civilization—survival of the fittest. Therefore, it has become necessary, as our Constitution has laid down, that we should prevent this type of incursion, whether it is from the point of view of acquiring land or from the point of view of other economic operations. Rich people require land and they dispossess them. In these particular areas, which have so far not been affected by the market economy, it is particularly necessary that such kind of things do not happen upsetting the economy of the tribal areas. We want the tribal areas to advance in peace in everything.

Looking at other areas outside India, where what are called primitive people live, there are two things affecting them very injuriously. One is the introduction of market economy in the last century or so. The other was gin or some such alcoholic drink which came from Europe. They got accustomed to it. As a result, there was another dangerous thing. They lost the incustoms. They used to make some kind of handicrafts, etc. You get the most horrid importation from Europe—I am talking about the 19th century or early 20th century—which put an end to the arts and crafts and their simple ways of living. They adopted the so-called European civilisation, which was most disastrous. Now to some extent, there is danger of the so-called Indian civilisation having this disastrous effect, if we do not check and apply in the proper

about it. That approach also has ultimately to be applied through their own people. The first thing, therefore, is to train their own people who can work among them and that would be far more effective than for outsiders to try. Broadly speaking one must raise them up through their own team. These are general approaches which I am venturing to put before you. We have to make them progress, but progress does not mean just an attempt to duplicate what we have got in any part of India. It may not be suitable to them. It may not be suitable even to India. But there are many things in India which are suitable to them. They will adopt them gradually. Any element of imposition has to be absent so far as possible and so people have to be trained to train others. It may not be a very rapid progress. Every kind of training takes time. Whatever profession you may adopt, it takes years to train people, engineers, doctors and so on. It is better to go ahead on a firm basis than merely to knock about with odd jobs here and there. There is a tendency to do odd jobs in improving them without any firm outlook.

I, therefore, venture to place before you these general considerations. I have not gone into the particular things which you will no doubt discuss.





Sri Datar delivering the Presidential Address

## RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

SHRI B. N. DATAR

*Minister for Home Affairs*

Friends,

I am very happy to welcome you here today for the third Tribal Affairs Conference. Two conferences have already been held. They did a lot of useful work. It is very helpful to Government to know the views of the people and social workers in this respect and, therefore, a conference was called this year by Mrs. Khongmen and other friends for the purpose of reviewing what has been done and also for laying down certain lines of action for the future. The conference is very appropriate because you are aware that the Planning Commission have been considering the question of preparing a second Five Year Plan. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that we are here meeting the Ministers and officers from the States and others. This is more or less a deliberative conference, and therefore I am happy that we shall have the advantage of the experience of the various States' Ministers.

Friends, the subjects that we have to discuss are very important. They deal with a population of nearly 2 crores of people. They are sometimes called aboriginals but the best would be, to call them the ancient people of the land and therefore they are known as Adivasis. We have to find out how they grew, in what way they have been neglected, generation after generation, and how the question of their uplift as also reclamation has been taken up by the Government at the centre and the various State Governments. For this purpose I would, with your permission, very briefly refer, from a historian's point of view, the conditions of these tribes and bring the narrative up-to-date so as to know what the Government of India have done during the last three or four years and what is necessary for bringing these people—nearly two crores of the Indian population—to the same position so far as the spread of education and general enlightenment are concerned.

In this connection, we have to admit that these tribal people are the ancient inhabitants of this land. Recently the International Labour Office have published a very important work known as the "INDIGENOUS PEOPLES." It deals with the aboriginal tribes in different parts of the world. It has collected a lot of information and though on certain points, so far as conditions in India are concerned, the information is at times inaccurate and in certain places misleading; on the whole I must say that from this



information so far as the conditions in the various parts of the world are concerned. It is a happy sign of the times that the attention of the civilized world has been drawn to the conditions, to the very unfortunate conditions, under which these people have been living, though they were the original masters of the land. I remember, when I recently travelled in the Santhal-Paragnas district of Bihar, I found that there were certain adverse circumstances under which they had been pushed back into the hills and for the last at least 100 years they have been living not in the plains but mostly in the hills, and now they dread coming back to the plains. That would show how these people were the original inhabitants of the land, far away in the distant past when a major portion of India also was covered with wild forests.

Gradually as we had various layers of civilized society, so far as these communities were concerned, they remained in a stage of neglect and isolation. Only a very small fraction of this community was ultimately absorbed in the Indian population, but they remained far away from the course of civilization and they had their own life, a very nomadic life, a very unfortunate life, where they depended solely on the natural resources to the extent that they were wild. The book "Indigenous Peoples" has pointed out how in the various parts of the world, including India, these people have been leading, almost what you can call, a sub-human existence. They have been living, as it is pointed out, sometimes, on rats. They even eat rats and other things and thus they carry on a very unfortunate sub-human existence. That is because they were neglected by the higher layers of Indian society, but this condition has got to go. They have to be treated as members of the great Indian community. The British during their times did make some attempts. Especially from 1872 onwards, they had various laws in different parts of the country and they made some attempts to improve the lot of these communities. Still the problem was very vast and the attention that was paid by the Government and the people was extremely inadequate and therefore, their condition did not improve as it ought to have improved.

Then from 1920 or 1922, a greater measure of attention was paid to their conditions and when the Government of India Act was passed in 1935, it was made clear that they were going to be treated as a class by themselves—excluded areas and partially excluded areas and such expressions were used. Perhaps it might be said by agitators that they wanted to exclude these aboriginal people from the other classes, who were more or less agitators. Whatever might be, it has to be said to their credit that they considered that their uplift also was their concern. The Governor or Governor-General had a special responsibility so far as the uplift or the welfare of these communities was concerned. But still you

will find that the conditions did not improve radically.

Then we had the Constituent Assembly. It went on for three or four years and ultimately it tackled this problem in as satisfactory a way as possible, and now we have the Indian Constitution. According to the Indian Constitution, we have recognised certain tribes as Scheduled Tribes and we have given them certain rights under the Constitution. One of the important rights that we have given is reservation of seats in the Parliament and the Legislatures. That is the reason that for the first time in the history of India, after the General Elections in 1952, we have the happy spectacle of members of the tribal communities being elected to the State Legislatures and to the Parliament. Here I will testify to the earnestness with which the Members of Parliament as well as the Members of the State Legislatures, tribal communities have been working for the general uplift of their communities. Their work and their insistence on our taking a belonging to the large interest in the welfare of these communities have been a matter which is always stimulating to us and, therefore, on this occasion I would express my gratitude to the tribal Members of the Parliament for having conceived of this idea of having a conference here. A few months ago we considered that the whole question of tribal welfare required a review in the present set up of things after the Constitution had been inaugurated.

The Central Government and the State Governments sought to devote greater attention to the welfare of these communities. So far as the spread of education is concerned, that was a matter taken up by the State Governments and I am very happy to point out here on this occasion that most of the State Governments have been giving full facilities to the members of the tribal communities. In almost all the States, education is free so far as these communities are concerned. Now, so far as higher education is concerned, the Government of India, in the Ministry of Education, have been making grants after grants every year and I would point out to you on this occasion that the question of making grants for post-matriculation students was first taken on a very small scale by the then Government of India in or about 1942 and they set apart 2 lakhs of rupees for this purpose. When the Congress came into power, immediately this amount was increased and you will find that during the last three or four years the amount has been increased a number of times over what it formerly was. Last year about Rs. 50 lakhs were spent and then about Rs. 21 lakhs more were given and you will find that during this year the amount that is likely to be spent for the purpose of granting scholarship to all the members of the backward classes, to the members of the Scheduled Tribes as also to the members of the Scheduled Castes might be in the neighbourhood of one crore rupees. So far as the post-matriculate <sup>concerned</sup> its the last year, Rs. 9 lakhs were given by way of

Scheduled Tribes only.

In addition to this, the more important point that I desire to lay emphasis upon in this connection is that in the Constitution itself a provision has been made in Article 275 according to which, though welfare of Scheduled Tribes is a State subject, "it shall be the duty of the Central Government to make annual grants not only to Assam but to the different States in India where tribal people live and where we have what are known as the Scheduled Areas. So immediately after the Constitution was inaugurated and after the President's order regarding Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas was promulgated, Government took up the question of giving grants and you will find how the amount of grant has been increasing every year. What the Planning Commission did, so far as the Five Year Plan was concerned, was to state that during the five-year period the Government should make a grant of Rs. 15 crores to the different States in respect of the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and for the purpose of bringing up the administration in the Scheduled Areas to a higher level. I would point out to you in this connection that in 1950-51, very little could be done because the President's order could only be issued in or about December 1950. All the same it was found that the needs of Assam were very great and therefore a token grant of Rs. 24 lakhs was given as a special case even in 1950-51. From the next year onwards there has been a continuous increase in the amount of grants. During the year 1951-52, 175 lakhs was the amount distributed among different States for the Welfare of Scheduled Tribes and for the improvement of the administration in the Scheduled Areas. For the year 1952-53 so far as part A and B States were concerned, Rs. 180 lakhs was the grant. The part C States are the direct responsibility of the President and, therefore, the President spent a sum of Rs. 17.8 lakhs for the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in part C States. For the year 1953-54, we increased the amount to Rs. 235 lakhs for parts A and B and Rs. 27.28 lakhs for part C States. For the current year 1954-55, Rs. 356 lakhs is the total amount that is to be given by way of grants-in-aid to the various States in Part A and B and so far as Part C States are concerned Rs. 33.5 lakhs would be spent this year. After making a deduction of this amount from Rs. 15 crores, which is the target fixed by the Planning Commission for the next year, i. e. 1955-56, we shall have Rs. 4 crores and odd so far as the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas are concerned. You will also note that there are certain special circumstances so far as Assam and other areas are concerned and there you will find in respect of North Eastern Frontier Agency a sum of Rs. 3 crores has already been sanctioned by the Government for the purpose of improving the conditions there. You will also note that it was found that Assam was an area which required special attention. There are very great adversities. We are aware that they are subject to floods, they are subject to other

difficulties also and in addition, the greatest difficulty or hardship that they are suffering from is the lack of communication. Therefore, a special committee known as the Iyengar Committee was appointed. They went to Assam, found out the condition there and then a planned scheme was laid according to which, for the purpose of improvement of communications, from the year 1953-54 every year the following grants of money are being made by the Government of India.

For 1953-54	...	...	...	Rs. 40 lakhs.
„ 1954-55	...	...	...	Rs. 60 lakhs.
„ 1955-56	...	...	...	Rs. 65 lakhs.
„ 1956-57	...	...	...	Rs. 60 lakhs.

So far as the Scheduled Areas are concerned you will find that their population is very large in certain parts of India and in others it is fairly sparse. Assam comes in with a population of 17 lakhs and you will find that there is the greatest concentration so far as the percentage of the total population is concerned. It comes to about 19·2%. That means nearly one-fifth of the population of the area is tribal. In Bihar the tribal population is 40 lakhs and the percentage comes to 10·21. In Orissa you will find the population is 29 lakhs, the largest after Bihar and Bombay and then in Madhya Pradesh it is 24 lakhs ; in Bombay it is 33 lakhs ; Madhya Bharat 10 lakhs ; Andhra 5 lakhs ; Rajasthan 4 lakhs and Hyderabad 3 lakhs. So far as other States are concerned, their population is not so great. I am very happy to point out on this occasion that the State Governments have already taken up this question, so far as tribal people as such are concerned. In some of the reformed States like Madras and Mysore, they took up the question of backward classes in general. That naturally included Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes also. So they had their own departments. We have been requesting them to mark out a special section or department to look after the work so far as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. Efforts have been made in some of the States during the last year or so. It was my good fortune to visit some of the Scheduled Areas in certain parts. For example, in Bombay we have the Dhang district. This was an utterly neglected area. It originally belonged to some native State and then the whole area was leased to a forest contractor and that would show the measure of attention or inattention paid to this population. It is an almost compact area. But the whole area was entirely neglected when it came over to Bombay. Naturally it was a Scheduled Area and the Government of Bombay have during the last four or five years given their I found that though the population was neglected c  
together, very great and laudable efforts were being

there. I found that the Collector there was taking a very great interest. I moved through the interior and though the communications were not so satisfactory, still the question of housing was also attended to, a number of colonies were created here and there and the question of land was also taken in hand.

Then I go to the tribal areas in Andhra State. These are known as Agency Areas. These are also vast and neglected areas. No attention has been paid or very little attention has been paid by the Madras Government because the area was vast and the effort required was also very great. Still it must be said that the Government of Madras had placed on a very organised footing the whole work of backward classes welfare including Scheduled Tribes. Now special attention is being paid to this area and I found that there were certain communities there which were susceptible to certain kinds of diseases and greater attention here was also necessary. I am confident that the new Government in Andhra shall take greater care of the tribal areas.

In the State of Bihar we have got the district known as the Santhal Parganas and the population of the Santhals is also very great. There I came across two important communities namely, Santhals and Pahadias. Santhals on the plains are, to a certain extent, in a better condition than those who are living in the hills and far better than the Pahadias. So far as Pahadias are concerned, only a very small number has come on the plains. The Government and the officers there are trying their best to build housing colonies and they have to persuade these people who are staying far away in the hills to come down to the plains but still it is a very difficult matter. I myself went up the hills with a view to find out the conditions in which they were living. Naturally I found their position most unenviable. They had no medical facilities. There was no question of education at all, because their villages could not be called villages—small huts dispersed here and there. They had no drinking water facilities. In some cases they had to go a distance of half a mile or one mile for the purpose of getting drinking water. The Government of Bihar has been giving special attention to the question of sinking more wells for drinking water round about these areas. There are also certain private associations which are carrying on very good work, but the problem is, as I stated, extremely great.

In this connection we should also note that so far as the tribal areas are concerned, it must be stated to the credit of Christian missionaries that they went into the interior of these tribal areas and did a lot for these people. Even now they are carrying on their activities in certain ways. Then I hear certain complaints about these missionaries but with this I would not deal here. The work they are carrying on is a great humanitarian task and such a piece of humanitarian work should be done in as disinterested a way as possible, in which case it will be more appreciated. Some of these missionaries have gone far into the

interior and have helped these poor people, and it must be said to their credit that they deserve our gratitude to that extent. I feel that the spirit with which they are working has to be modernised. After all, service to the poor must be considered as service to God. The poor tribals are not at present in a position to know their interests, much less to exercise their volition. It is for this purpose that this work of service to the poor, service to the sub-human humanity has to be approached with the greatest purity of purpose and I am quite confident that if the missionaries looked at it from this point of view, their work would be better appreciated by the public and the quality of work would also improve. After all it is immaterial whether a particular tribal is a Christian or a non-Christian, Hindu or a non-Hindu. It is for this purpose I desire that all other communities also should take this question into account. After all the resources of the Government are limited. This work is limitless and therefore we must be guided solely by a spirit of service. The task of reconstruction of the nation is before us. There can be no reconstruction if these two crores of the Indian population are living, as I said, a sub-human existence. They have to be brought up and that will constitute the greatest service and those people, I will tell you, are extremely grateful. They are unsophisticated and whatever little we do will be greatly appreciated by them. Even the work of associations and the small batch of social workers is appreciated. I am confident that this work would be undertaken by the youth of the country. The problem is vast. In different parts of India batches of workers will have to go and carry on the work. It is only then that they will have the satisfaction of having elevated these depressed classes of humanity in India and for this purpose I am anxious, that we should think on this occasion, on an all-India level, and bring into existence numerous associations pledged to the disinterested service of these people.

There are also other areas where Scheduled Tribes population is fairly large and if we are going to criticise the activities of certain classes of people, it is our duty to substitute a better band of workers and then only will this work go on. On the other hand, from this book 'Indigenous Peoples', I find there are various non-official organisations who are carrying on this work. Their work does not come under the notice of members of the public or the press. But they have the greatest satisfaction. You find such batches of workers in Africa and America where they have buried themselves far away from all civilisation. They have gone there and they live there. A great social worker, a medical practitioner, who could have had the biggest practice in the Continent went away and built up a great T. B. Colony and has been of great help to the local population. He got a Nobel Prize only two years ago. It is such people for name or fame. It is such people who bury them-  
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the greatest servants of humanity, and I am looking forward to people to follow the great lead that was given to India by Thakar Bapa. Wherever I went, the name of Thakar Bapa was always mentioned with gratitude. The name of Thakar Bapa has to be mentioned because he led the way and others have followed. I am quite confident that the youth of India will take this work and will do whatever is necessary. Then only will the work improve.

Lastly, I shall deal with what has been done by the State Governments with their own grants and also with the grants given by the Centre. These reports are published and questions are answered in the Parliament. In this connection I would invite attention of all the members here to the report published by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. A number of reports have been published and the last report is for the year 1953. That report gives out what has been done by the States, and what is required to be done by the States as also by the Centre. He has mentioned a number of problems and all the problems in respect of which he has suggested a solution are now before the Governments, and some of them will also be considered here. In certain respects a greater pace is necessary. The pace of progress is not what it ought to be. But we have also to take into account the fact that the whole question has been taken in a systematic and organised way only from the year 1951-52. We considered that, possibly, we were in very early and formative stages and therefore no Five Year Plan as such for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas was made. The practice followed was that we called upon the State Governments, to submit to us certain schemes and those schemes were examined by the Planning Commission and by the Home Ministry and other Ministries concerned and then grants made. It was found that in certain cases either sanction could not be given in time because the schemes were not received in time and therefore the whole of the grant amount could not be spent. There are certain instances in this connection where grants could not be utilised. Every attempt is now being made to expedite. We are requesting the State Governments every year, early in February, to submit to us in the course of a month the schemes that they propose to implement for the next year. In some cases the schemes do not come to us in time. I desire that the State Governments would take this fact into account. They should try to send their schemes as early as possible so that we receive them in March or early in April so that they can be examined by the Planning Commission and the various Ministries in time. Sometimes a complaint is made that the sanction is late in coming and I would point out to you here that the sanction is late in issue because the schemes are not received in time. Secondly, we have to get them examined by the concerned Ministries. In this connection the Central Government and the State Governments have to cooperate with each other, because it is our desire that when the

amount has been mentioned in the budget, the whole amount has to be spent before 31st of March every year so that no amount should be surrendered and the grants do not lapse and to a very great extent we hope to succeed this year. The first half of the grant in respect of sanctioned schemes we can give to State Governments by July, and the remainder could also be placed at their disposal as soon as we get the progress reports. I also desire that the States Ministers should attend to this matter. After all the State Governments and the Central Government are very vitally interested in this matter and it has been my lot to answer questions raised by Hon. Members of the Parliament regarding the conditions of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. If for example, we have no information regarding the progress that they have made, it becomes very awkward for us. I would implore the State Governments to go on sending us at least every quarter, if not every month or two months, a report of the work that they have done. If there are any particular difficulties that they have, we shall be very happy to deal with them and to solve them to the extent possible, because this is a task which is common to the States and the Government of India. The Government of India feel that though it is the responsibility of the States, they must take as much a share of the solution of the various problems in this connection as they can. In other words, a complete spirit of harmony and cooperation is necessary between the State Governments and the Central Government and we have to satisfy our masters, namely, the Parliament in the first instance, and the electorate in the last, that we are carrying on our task to the best of our ability.

Friends, you will understand that we have decided to have an experiment in democracy in India. But the success of democracy depends upon a common level of enlightenment and education so far as all the communities are concerned. You will find that 35 crores of people that India has, are in different stages of progress or enlightenment or backwardness. The Backward Classes Commission is now carrying on their work and the Chairman is here, and possibly by the end of this year, we shall have his own report and you will be surprised to find that a very large number of backward classes in India are economically backward, educationally backward and also socially backward. When the report comes in, the State Governments and the Central Government will give respectful attention not only to the report but also to the recommendations made by this great Commission. I would like to point out that we have a duty, to raise the level—economic, educational and social—of the different communities in India and if democracy is to succeed, all the voters must be not only literate but also have a fair degree of enlightenment. They must know what is going on. They should take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country, and that they can do, provided literacy spreads among them and provided they know what their rights



are and what the obligations of the Government are. It is for this purpose, that we are anxious to bring up all the classes of society including, in particular, the Scheduled Castes on the one hand who are suffering from the worst disabilities, and on the other, Scheduled Tribes, who are also suffering from certain historical disabilities. It is therefore necessary that we must give special attention to the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Tribes must feel that they are also part of the great Indian nation. They are entitled to the same facilities that other members have. They are entitled to the very high standard of living as others would have. Economically we have to consider their question along with others. But there are special problems due to special hardships and it shall be your privilege and mine to devise measures for the purpose of removing these disabilities. It is for the purpose of reviewing what we have been doing till now, what little perhaps we have done and what we have to do, that we are meeting today. I am very happy that when this idea was conceived of that there ought to be a tribal conference, all State Governments welcomed the idea and I am also very happy that almost all the States are represented here. As the Prime Minister pointed out, it is true that when Ministers are called to Delhi, their work is dislocated to a certain extent. But I feel, sometimes it is better to meet and to know the actual conditions when we are making grants and when the Parliament is so vigilant—no day passes without a question being asked on the floor of the Parliament regarding the conditions of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. That is the measure of interest shown by Parliament of which I am proud. Therefore when you and we meet here, we exchange certain information, and after having found out the largest measure of agreement and having agreed upon also the schemes that we have to evolve and the targets that have to be achieved, it will be a matter of great relief not only to us here but to you also.

The great task of reconstruction is being carried on in India. In spite of all that has been said and done ultimately you will find that so far as the new task to which we are pledged is concerned, we are proceeding on the whole more satisfactorily, than perhaps our critics believe. We do desire to increase the pace of our progress and therefore I am extremely happy that you are all here and you are also taking part in the work of collaboration and planning for the future. Again I thank you for having come over here and for having been ready to place your experiences at our disposal. We shall have a very good discussion on the various problems so far as this main question of the welfare of the tribal people is concerned.

I again welcome you and I thank you for the patience with which you have heard my speech.

#### 4. SHRI SONARAM SORAN,

*(Minister for Tribal Welfare, Government of Orissa)*

Chairman and friends,

I do not belong to Mr. T. Sanganna's school of thought and I am opposed to his views specially with regard to the question of tribal education. I hold quite contrary views to what Mr. T. Sanganna said regarding tribal education. I am myself a tribal and am in-charge of tribal welfare. I think the tribals are in no way inferior to others minus education. Of course, the Prime Minister said this morning that tribals would develop in the Indian way of life according to Indian traditions but before thinking of what type of education should tribals get, you have also to keep in mind their economic conditions. Their economic condition is so bad and so hopelessly wretched that whenever we think of introducing education, we must devise such types of education as should be least expensive and most useful to the tribal people. You may be knowing that Orissa is backward and poorer than any other State in India. So you can well imagine the economic conditions of the tribal people.

Tribals themselves are very poor. I am not going to say who is responsible for their poverty but I want that they should get the education which gives them enlightenment and at the same time enables them to stand on their own feet after they finish their education. Therefore, in 1946, along with other members, Late Rev. A. B. Thakkar investigated the conditions of tribals in Orissa and they have suggested the type of education that will suit the tribals. On those very lines of Thakkar Bapa, we have started schools. We have got 600 Sewashrams which are of L. P. standard. There, we give general education, plus training in gardening, carpentry, weaving, spinning etc. These schools are open to the general public and those tribal students who wish to join the general school get a monthly stipend. There is no bar to any type of student joining the general school. Besides, there are 35 Ashram schools which are of middle English school standard and here only the Adivasi students are admitted. In these schools a student lives for six years getting free boarding free lodging in addition to free writing and reading material. Here also they get general as well as vocational education. The underlying principle is "to earn while you learn" and that is the principle we follow. After a student finishes his education at the school, he can stand on his own legs and start independently in the trades he was taught. Recently those who have come out of the Ashram school and who have

joined the general schools are doing very well. Six or seven students joined the general schools and are doing very well, one of them stood first in his class. According to Mr. Sanganna, students from these schools do not get enough general education. This is not correct. Our chairman has pointed out that he has already noticed in certain states even the Adivasis demanding instructions through their own script. In Orissa, linguistically, the tribals may be divided into two classes, Mundari speaking and Oriya speaking. Mundari includes Santhal, Ho, Munda, Beerhor Mahalli etc., but so far as South Orissa is concerned, they speak more or less Oriya. We do not face much problem in having it as the medium of instruction, because those who know and write Oriya, are taught in the medium of Oriya through its script. I belong to Mundari section and we have got a separate script for the Mundari speaking people as their medium of instruction. We are starting teaching in Mundari script from this year. Of course in the beginning there are certain difficulties like getting good teachers, and we require trained teachers who are conversant with the Adivasi way of life but I think that difficulty is going to be gradually solved. In Sewashrams, I think nearly 50% of the teachers are tribals and if the Central Government will be very kind to provide us with larger amounts of grants, we shall proceed further.

## 5. SHRI TENZING WANGDI,

*(Deputy Minister for Tribal Welfare, West Bengal.)*

Mr. President and friends,

I take this opportunity of addressing a few words to you not only in my capacity as the Deputy Minister, in charge of the Tribal Welfare Department, West Bengal, but also in my capacity as a member of the tribal communities of West Bengal. I belong to the Bhutia community of Darjeeling. In Darjeeling besides the Bhutias there are the Lepchas who are also recognised as one of the Scheduled Tribes.

A good deal of things have been said in this conference this morning regarding the question of proper education for the tribals. It has been asked whether tribal students should be taught in their mother tongue during their primary stages. I feel that it depends on the nature of the area in which such education is to be imparted. In Darjeeling, the tribals are scattered all over the

territory whereas in some of the plain districts of West Bengal, such as, Malda, West Dinajpur, Bankura, Burdwan etc., the tribals are found in large number in compact areas. So, I feel that in schools where we have got considerably large number of tribal students, they should be taught in their mother tongue, e.g., in Darjeeling there are some schools where we have got considerable number of Bhutia and Lepcha students and I feel the right course would be to teach them in their own vernacular, i.e., Tibetan. We have scripts as well as text-books in the Tibetan language. But in those schools where the number of tribal students is very small it will be physically impossible to arrange for teaching them separately in their mother tongue. In the plain districts of West Bengal where we have tribal population in compact areas I feel the tribal students should be taught in their mother tongue. In Darjeeling our tribal students, in addition to learning their mother tongue, i.e., Tibetan, have also got to learn a number of other languages. They have to learn Nepali because Nepali is the common language of the hill people of Darjeeling. When they reach the secondary stage they have to learn Bengali as it is the provincial language of West Bengal, and next they have to learn Hindi also because it is the '*Rashtra Bhasha*', and last though not the least, our students have to learn English also. So, I feel that wherever we have got Bhutia and Lepcha students in sufficient number, Government should make proper arrangement to see that these boys are taught their vernacular, i.e., the Tibetan. I also feel that proper teachers should be employed for such purposes as there has been a dearth of good Tibetan teachers in Darjeeling.

The economic condition of the tribal people affects the education of the tribal children to a great extent. It is well known fact that the tribals are very poor. Their capacity to earn is very low. Every member of the family has to work in order to provide for a bare living of the family. As such the tribal parents and guardians are not very much inclined to send their children, specially the grown up ones to day-schools because that deprives them of the little earning that the children would otherwise have brought in the family. For us tribals education is an investment and not an ideal. We spend money for the education of our children by way of investment with the hope of getting a substantial and quick return. We have not reached that stage of educating our children just for the sake of education. Things as they are now, we are not assured of any return for giving education to our children. If such a return is guaranteed, the tribals will not hesitate to send their children to school, but as that is not so they prefer to send them to collect fuel and look after the cattle. I think starting of night schools for the tribal children will be more advantageous than the day schools. But the night schools are not recognised by the Government and as such they are not entitled to get any aid. I think this rule should be relaxed and that properly run night schools should be recognised.

tion Department so that the tribal students studying in these schools are not deprived of the facilities of stipends etc. made available to them by the Government.

I feel that our tribal students are not deriving the full advantage of the facilities for stipends provided for by the Central Government. This is because the Government of India have imposed a restriction to the effect that any student whose guardian's or parent's income is more than Rs. 500/- per month is not entitled to get any stipend. This is a great handicap to some guardians or parents whose income is a little more than Rs. 500/- per month, but who spend a considerable amount of their income in meeting the educational expenses of a number of their children. I feel cases in which guardians or parents earn more than Rs. 500/- per month and educate a number of their children should receive special consideration of the Government as far as payment of stipends to children of such guardians or parents is concerned. So I suggest that the above restriction be removed in the way mentioned above.

If I remember correctly, some time back there was a circular from the Government of India to the effect that those tribal students and students from other educationally backward classes who do not pass their University examination in the First Division shall have to pay their admission fee for admission to the colleges and those students who pass in the First Division will not be required to do so. Considering that the results of University examinations for the last few years show that only a small number of students in general pass in the First Division, I apprehend very insignificant number of tribal students will derive any benefit under this new arrangement. Since majority of the students pass in the 2nd or 3rd Division, may I suggest that the facilities of being admitted into colleges without paying the admission fee etc. be extended to such students that pass their University examinations in the 2nd Division too. (To this point Shri Shrikant replied that the circular had been modified. According to the present rule tribal or other educationally backward classes students, irrespective of the division in which they pass the examination, were entitled to the concession of not paying the admission fee.).

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## ६ श्री भोगीलाल पंड्या, मंत्री राजस्थान सरकार

अध्यक्ष महोदय, उपस्थित मित्रो,

अभी तक शिक्षा के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। लेकिन आदिवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति के सुधारने के बारे में कुछ कम कहा गया है। हम सब यह भली भाँति जानते हैं कि ज्यादातर आदिवासी, शहर और आवागमन के साधनों से बहुत दूर जंगलों में और पहाड़ों में रहते हैं। तो सब से पहला काम यह होना चाहिये कि वहाँ सड़कें अगर पक्की सड़कें न भी बनायी जा सकें तो जीपेबल रोड्स बनावे जहाँ जीप आसानी से जा सके, सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता और गवर्नमेंट के आदमी वहाँ पहुँच सकें ताकि उनकी जितनी उपयोगी चीजें हैं वे उनको सस्ती मिल सकें और जिन चीजों की वहाँ जरूरत है, वह वहाँ पहुँचाई जा सकें और जो वहाँ वे उत्पन्न करते हैं उनको वे बाहर भेज सकें और उनको पैसा बराबर मिल सके।

दूसरी बात यह है कि वे जंगलों में रहते हैं और ज्यादातर जंगलों की उपज से ही अपना निर्वाह करते हैं। इसलिए वहाँ जंगलों की जो कटाई की जाती है वह आदिवासियों की ही सहकारी समितियाँ और दूसरी जंगल सहकारी समितियों के द्वारा, जहाँ तक सम्भव हो सके करानी चाहिये ताकि मिडलमेन उनका शोषण न कर सके। इसकी बड़ी आवश्यकता है। इस तरह की व्यवस्था बम्बई, मध्यप्रदेश और राजस्थान सरकारें, जिन प्रदेशों में ये लोग ज्यादातर रहते हैं, कर रही हैं ताकि उनके द्वारा उत्पन्न की गई चीजें सर्वत्र उपयोग में लाई जाय। ऐसी चीजों की जंगलों में बहुत उपज है जो दवाइयों में कहिये या और किसी तरह से कहिये, बीमारी और चिकित्सा के काम में बहुत काम आती हैं। इन सब का ज्ञान आदिवासियों को कराना चाहिये और साथ ही उन चीजों के खरीदने और बाहर ले जाने की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये।

तीसरी चीज खेती की है। आदिवासी प्रायः शिफ्टिंग कल्टिवेशन यानी चलती खेती करते हैं। साल, दो साल एक जगह खेती करते हैं, फिर उस जगह को छोड़ कर दूसरे स्थान पर करते हैं, फिर साल, दो साल में उसको छोड़कर तीसरे स्थान पर, जंगल को जलाकर वे खेती करते हैं। वे उद्योग व्यवसाय और खेती के नये तौर तरीके नहीं जानते हैं। इसलिये उनको इन सबकी जानकारी कराने की भी

वड़ी आवश्यकता है। उनको खेती की साधन सामग्री, अच्छे बीज, अच्छे बेल, खाद आदि देकर इस दिशा में प्रोत्साहन देने की भी आवश्यकता है।

मैंने अपने यहाँ आदिवासियों भीलों को देखा है। उनको यद्यपि हम अच्छे किसान नहीं कह सकते हैं क्योंकि उनमें वह स्थिरता नहीं है, फिर भी वे लोग अच्छी खेती करते हैं पर और बातों की परवाह उन्हें बहुत कम है। इस ओर भी हमें ज्यादा ध्यान देना है और देखना है कि वे भी धीरे-धीरे अच्छे किसान बनें। वे आजकल स्थायी रूप से एक जगह नहीं रहते हैं। एक मकान बनवाया है, उसको छोड़कर दूसरी जगह और फिर उसे छोड़कर तीसरी जगह वे आजकल चले जाते हैं। इसलिये सहकारी समितियों के द्वारा, पहाड़ी लोगों के लिये जहाँ अच्छी रिटर्न नहीं आती हो, वहाँ भी तालाब आदि सिंचाई के साधन उपलब्ध कराये जावें। सिंचाई विभाग के हिसाब से कम रिटर्न बैठता हो तो पिछड़ी जातियों की सहायता के फंड से पूरा किया जाय। अपने यहाँ हमने अपनी तथा केन्द्रीय सरकार की सहायता के द्वारा ऐसा कर दिया है कि सिंचाई विभाग के द्वारा बनने वाले तालाबों में कम रिटर्न आता हो तो विभाग की सहायता उसे बराबर रिटर्न में लाकर सिंचाई के तालाब की व्यवस्था की जाती है। इस तरह तालाब बनवाने का काम शुरू किया गया। पिछले दो वर्षों में तालाबों की संख्या बढ़ती गई और उनके द्वारा वहाँ के लोगों को न केवल काम ही मिलता है बल्कि तालाब के पेटे में अच्छी खेती होती है, नहरें निकालकर सिंचाई करते हैं और कुओं में पानी की सतह ऊपर आने से बहुत से कुएँ खुदवाये जाते हैं और पानी के सहारे वहाँ अच्छी खेती होती है। यह प्रयोग हम पिछले ढाई तीन साल से कर रहे हैं, ३२०० नए कुएँ भीलों ने तैयार किये। आदिवासियों को जब तक रुपया थोड़ा बहुत मिलता रहता है काम करते हैं। रुपया नहीं मिलता है या कोई कठिनाई आती है तो उसे छोड़ देते हैं और चले जाते हैं। हम भीलों, आदिवासियों को कुएँ खोदने के लिए प्रोत्साहित कर उपयुक्त स्थान बताते हैं। पहिले गैंगी फावड़ों की सहायता देते हैं, जब वे आठ फीट गहरा कुआँ खोद लेते हैं तब ५० रुपये की सहायता दी जाती है, जिसकी सहायता से वे सात फीट कुआँ और खोद लेते हैं। सात फीट खोदने पर एक सौ रुपयों की सहायता दी जाती है। प्रायः फिर पाँच फीट और खोदने पर एक सौ रुपयों की सहायता दी जाती है। प्रायः २० फीट खोदने पर पानी निकल आता है या पानी आने के आसार दिखते हैं। इसके बाद यदि कुआँ और गहरा करने की आवश्यकता होती है तो उसे गहरा करने के लिये या बाँधने के लिये या चरस या रहेंट ( Persian Wheel ) के लिये ढाई सौ रुपयों की और सहायता दी जाती है। यह कुएँ

की पाँच सौ रुपयों की रकम जो पानी निकाल कर खेती करने पर सहायतार्थ दी जाती है वापिस नहीं ली जाती। कुएँ खोदने में शारीरिक श्रम भी खुद कर लेते हैं। यदि रुपयों की और आवश्यकता होती है तो तकावी लोन दिलवाया जाता है जिसे वे फिस्तों में चुकाते हैं। भालों को खेती के लिये जमीन, बीज, बैल, खाद, और आधुनिक ढंग की खेती की शिक्षा दी जाती है। कुआँ बन जाने और जमीन मिलने से भील स्थाई रूप से एक जगह रहते हैं और अपनी जमीन ठीक बनाते हैं। खेती के दिनों के सिवाय जब भील खाली रहते हैं वे मजदूरो के लिए चले जाते हैं और जहाँ कहीं जाते हैं वे अपने पशुओं की रक्षा करते हैं या गृह उद्योग चलाते हैं। खाली दिनों में काम दिलाने के लिये गृह उद्योग की शिक्षा देने की व्यवस्था भी की जा रही है।

अब प्रश्न है कि आदिवासियों में इन सब कामों को चलाने के लिये कार्यकर्त्ता कहाँ से और कैसे मिलें। अच्छा हो यदि ऐसे कार्यकर्त्ता उनकी भाषा भी जानते हो, रीति रिवाज जानते हों और उनकी खूबियाँ और खामियाँ जानते हों। ऐसे कार्यकर्त्ताओं को भेजकर उनके द्वारा खेती के नये साधन उन्हें उपलब्ध कराये जायँ तो बहुत ही लाभ होगा। राजस्थान में भीलों की संस्थाओं से जो कार्यकर्त्ता निकलते हैं उन्हें उनकी (भीलों की) सेवा में प्रायः लगाये जाते हैं।

शिक्षा के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है और इस दिशा में भी पिछले २५ वर्षों से, पूज्य ठक्कर बापा के सहयोग और उनके आशीर्वाद से, कई संस्थाएँ काम करती आ रही हैं। इन सब में हमने देखा कि जब दूसरे बच्चों के साथ आदिवासियों के बच्चे पढ़ने जाते हैं तो वे एक मन के काँपलेक्स के कारण दूसरे बच्चों को अपने से उच्च समझते हैं इसलिये वे उनके पास जाने में बहुत संकोच करते हैं। अध्यापक लोगों को भी जंगलों में रहना पड़ता है। उनके पास समाचार पत्र आदि समय पर नहीं पहुँचते। आने जाने के लिये मोटर और दूसरे साधन नहीं मिलते हैं, जंगलों में उनके रोज की कई उपयोगी चीजें नहीं मिलती हैं, इसलिये अच्छे अध्यापक वहाँ नहीं मिल पाते हैं। और इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि बच्चे अच्छी पढ़ाई प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। आदिवासियों में उनकी भाषा जानने वाले, उस क्षेत्र के रहने वाले लोगों को अध्यापक बनाया जाय, उनका जहाँ तक हो सके बाहर भेजकर या अपने यहाँ पर जितनी शिक्षा दिला सके दिलावें तो उनका बहुत उपयोग कर सकते हैं। इससे बड़ा लाभ मिलेगा। उन लोगों को शारीरिक श्रम, बुनियादी शिक्षा दिलाने के बारे में भी कहा गया है। यह शिक्षा उनको दिलानी चाहिये। भील लोग आर्थिक कठिनाई के कारण अधूरी पढ़ाई कर अपना पढ़ना छोड़ देते हैं। इसलिये राजस्थान सरकार ने स्थायी छात्रवृत्तियों के द्वारा प्रोत्साहन



देने की व्यवस्था की है। जहाँ कहीं प्राथमिक पढ़ाई पूरी कर चौथी कक्षा या इसके ऊपर बीस छात्र मिल सकते हैं वहाँ छात्रालय की व्यवस्था की जाती है। किन्तु यह शिक्षा केवल नौकरी के लिये न हो इसका ध्यान रखना है। जो रिजर्वेशन नौकरियों के लिये रक्खा है उससे इसकी पूर्ति नहीं होगी। अतः उनको गृह उद्योग की शिक्षा, बुनियादी शिक्षा या बेकार नहीं हो वैसी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। अगर ऐसी व्यवस्था हम कर सकें तो बहुत बड़ा उपयोग हो सकेगा।

इतना कहकर आप सबको धन्यवाद देने हुए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

## ७. श्री हरिभाऊ उपाध्याय, मुख्य मंत्री, अजमेर राज्य

श्रीमान् अध्यक्ष महोदय और मित्रो।

हम यहाँ आदिवासियों की उन्नति पर विचार करने को एकत्र हुए हैं। जब हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हुआ तो हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक हो गया और हमारा यह कर्त्तव्य है कि देश के जो पिछड़े हुए अंग हैं, उनको हम उन्नत करें। देश में यदि थोड़े से विद्वान्, धनी, सत्ताधीश ऊँचे दर्जे पर हों और बहुत-सा जन-समाज पिछड़ा हुआ हो तो इस देश को हम उन्नत नहीं कर सकते। इस दृष्टि से हमारी सरकार की ओर से तमाम पिछड़ी हुई जातियों और आदिवासियों को ऊपर उठाने के तरह-तरह के प्रयत्न हो रहे हैं। प्रयत्न करने के पहले यह आवश्यक है कि हमारी दृष्टि साफ हो कि हम सब क्या कर रहे हैं। पहले से ही आदिवासियों और दूसरी पिछड़ी हुई जातियों में तरह-तरह के लोग सेवा का काम कर रहे हैं। मिशनरी लोग भी काम कर रहे हैं और दूसरे-दूसरे लोग भी कर रहे हैं। अलग-अलग उनके दृष्टि-बिन्दु थे और अब भी हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हमारे राज्यों के और कार्यकर्त्ताओं के एक या अधिक-से-अधिक दो दृष्टि-बिन्दु हो सकते हैं। पहला तो यह कि हमारे मन में प्रायश्चित्त का भाव होना चाहिए। जो जातियाँ आज जंगली या आदिवासी कही जाती हैं, असल में वे हमारे देश के मूल (आदिवासी) निवासी थे। दूसरे लोग जो बाहर से आये जिनमें सम्भवतः हम आर्य कहलाने वाले भी सम्मिलित हैं, उनसे उनकी लड़ाई हुई और वे जंगलों व पहाड़ों में चले गये और हमने जब तक उनको

उसी स्थिति में रहने दिया। मनुष्य के नाते यह हमारा सबसे बड़ा अपराध था और उसके लिये हमारे मनमें प्रायश्चित्त की भावना होनी चाहिए। यह भावना हम रखेंगे तो आपके मनमें यह ख्याल कभी नहीं होगा कि हमने उन पर उपकार किया, बल्कि यह कि हमने कर्ज किया था, उसे चुका रहे हैं। दूसरी भावना राष्ट्रीय एकता की हो। भारत एक राष्ट्र है और इस राष्ट्र की एकता हमें रखनी है। अब यदि आदिवासियों की उन्नति करनी है और उनका सुधार करना है और और बातों को छोड़कर तो मैं यह मानता हूँ कि वह प्रयत्न यही परिणाम लाने वाला होना चाहिए। यदि हम शिक्षा देते हैं तो उसमें भी हमारी यही दृष्टि होनी चाहिए और हम उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति करते हैं तो उसमें भी हमें यही परिणाम निकलता दिखायी देना चाहिए।

पहले मैं शिक्षा का प्रश्न लूंगा। अभी यहां तरह तरह की बातें शिक्षा-प्रणाली के सम्बन्ध में हुई कि शिक्षा के लिए आश्रम-प्रणाली हो या नहीं आदि आदि। मेरा नम्र निवेदन यह है कि भाषा का प्रश्न जहां तक है, प्रान्त की भाषा में उनको शिक्षा देना काफी है। यदि हम उनको अपनी भाषा में शिक्षा देना चाहें तो वह भी किया जा सकता है। जहां लाखों की तादाद में आदिवासी हों, वहां प्रारम्भिक वर्गों में आप उनकी भाषा में ही शिक्षा दे सकते हैं। लेकिन यह अलग-अलग भाषाओं में शिक्षा देने की प्रथा जो है, वह राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए विघातक है। यह कहा जाता है कि हमें उनकी विशेषताओं को बनाये रखना है। भीलों की अलग विशेषताएं हैं। ब्राह्मणों की अलग-अलग विशेषताएं हैं, इस प्रकार हर एक की अलग अलग विशेषताएं हैं। लेकिन इन विशेषताओं का कारण क्या है? यदि हम सोचें तो मालूम पड़ेगा कि पुराने जमाने में हमारा एक दूसरे प्रान्त से सम्पर्क नहीं था। अलावा इसके, उन दिनों में जलवायु के कारण से तथा प्राकृतिक कारणों से ये विशेषताएं बन गयीं। विशेषताएं उनको मानना चाहिए जो प्राकृतिक हों और जो मानुषिक कारणों से, परिस्थितिवश पैदा हो गयीं, अगर उनको कायम रखने का प्रयत्न किया जायगा तो यह हमारी भारी गलती होगी। सही प्रयत्न यह होगा कि जो प्राकृतिक भेद हैं और प्राकृतिक कारणों से विशेषताएं उत्पन्न हुई हैं जैसे, स्त्री-पुरुष, मनुष्य-पशु-ये प्राकृतिक भेद हैं, उनको आप नहीं मिटा सकते हैं और मिटाने की जरूरत भी नहीं है। उसको तो हम परस्पर सहयोगी जरूर बनायें। इतना ही हमारा काम है कि जो प्राकृतिक भेद हैं, उनमें जो परस्पर विघातक हैं उनको हम परस्पर सहयोगी बनायें। और जो मनुष्यकृत विशेषताएं हैं उनको हम धीरे-धीरे मिटाते चले जायं, तभी राष्ट्र की उन्नति हो सकेगी। यह सही दिशा है।

अब हम उनकी दशा को सुधारना चाहते हैं। इसके मानी ये हुए कि वे शिक्षा

में पिछड़े हुए हैं इसलिए उनको उचित प्रकार की शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए। आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्थिति बिगड़ गयी है तो उनकी आर्थिक व सामाजिक दशा सुधारनी चाहिए। उनका सुधार तीन दिशाओं में करने की जरूरत है।

कुछ लोग पहाड़ों में रहते हैं, और कुछ आदिवासी, जैसे कि हमारे राज्य में करीब-करीब किसान जैसे हो गये। मगर गुजरात आदि प्रान्तों में अब भी पहाड़ों में काफी रहते हैं। निश्चित रूप से हमारे राज्य में के नागरिकों को जो शिक्षा दी जायगी और जो शिक्षा पहाड़ों में रहने वालों को दी जायगी, उसमें अन्तर रहेगा। और दूसरी बात यह है कि केवल आदिवासी होने के कारण उनको कृषि और उद्योग की ही शिक्षा दी जाय यह बात गलत है। भारतवर्ष कृषि प्रधान देश है, इस लिए भारतवर्ष के ग्रामों में जो शिक्षा दी जाय, वह कृषि प्रधान और उद्योग प्रधान ही होगी। मगर यह सही नहीं है कि उसमें ग्रामवासी हो हों या आदिवासी हो हों। अगर ऐसा नहीं हुआ तो यह ख्याल अवश्य रहेगा कि हम आदिवासियों को आदिवासी ही बनाये रखना चाहते हैं और पहाड़ियों को पहाड़ी ही। अगर आदिवासियों में ऐसे लोग हैं जो नगरों में रहकर हमारी तरह विधान सभाओं व पार्लियामेन्ट के सदस्य बन सकते हों तो कल कोई उनमें प्रधान मंत्री भी बन सकता है तो उन्हें इसका अवसर मिलना चाहिए। हमारा यही लक्ष्य है और इसकी हमें खुशी है। लेकिन उनको शिक्षा देने के प्रश्न पर विचार करते समय यह विचार करने की जरूरत है कि इस गरीब देश का छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों के बिना उद्धार नहीं हो सकता। छोटे-छोटे उद्योग केवल आदिवासियों के लिए ही तहों हैं, बल्कि राष्ट्र के कल्याण की दृष्टि से ये सबके लिए हैं और होने चाहिए।

पुराने जमाने में, जब कि आवागमन के साधन उपलब्ध न थे, हमारे विचारकों और चिन्तकों ने मानव के सम्बन्ध में बहुत व्यापक भावनाओं का प्रचार किया। लेकिन जहां तक आचारों का सम्बन्ध है, चूंकि आवागमन के साधन न थे, वे उतने ही संकुचित हो गये। आप उन्हीं संकुचित विशेषताओं को मानने और विशिष्ट मानने तथा उनको सुरक्षित करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो यह बिल्कुल उल्टी दिशा होगी। हमको तो अच्छा अवसर मिल गया है। अब हमें उन आचारों की व्यापक भावनाओं को लेकर उन्हें जीवन में प्रचलित करने और अनुभव करने का प्रयास करना चाहिए। उनमें जो हेय भाव हैं, उनको मिटा देना चाहिए। उनकी सेवा करने के लिए इस बात का जरूर ध्यान रखना है कि उनकी शिक्षा और उन लोगों के संस्कार ऐसे न हो जाय कि आजकल के शिक्षित बेकारों की टोली में उनको भी आकर शामिल होना पड़े। यदि वे बेकार हो गये और इसका यह परिणाम निकला तो हमारी

केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों ने जो कंगेड़ों और लाखों रुपया खर्च किया है, उससे बेकारों की संख्या और बढ़ गयी, इसका यही मतलब होगा। इसके ये माने हुए कि जो शिक्षा उनको दी जाय वह कृषि और उद्योग-प्रधान दी जाय। इस विषय में हमारे मनमें कोई दुविधा नहीं है। मेरा निश्चित मत है कि अगर इन बेकारों की संख्या अगले पांच वर्षों में बढ़ती ही गयी तो यह बेकारों की जमात हमें गोली मारेगी। यह स्थिति बिल्कुल आने वाली है अगर हम सावधान न रहे। ग्रामों की आर्थिक दशा सुधारने के लिए ही नहीं, बल्कि बेकारों को समस्या को मुनभाने के लिए इस बात पर जोर देना है कि जो हमारे आदिवासी भाई हैं, मनुष्यता की दृष्टि से ऊँचे रहें। मुझे अनुभव है। एक जगह का उदाहरण देता हूँ, मजेदार उदाहरण है। मैं मध्यभारत में एक जगह गया था। वारेला जाति में यह नियम है कि स्त्री और पुरुष दोनों जीवन के हर प्रसंग में हमेशा साथ रहते हैं। यानी जो यह हम मानते थे कि यह प्रथा यूरोप के लोगों की है, वह हमारे देश में भी इन आदिवासियों में पायी जाती है। स्त्री और पुरुष, जैसा कि मैंने ऊपर जिक्र किया, अद्वान्त में जायेंगे तो दोनों साथ जायेंगे, वेन व खलिहान में जायेंगे तो साथ, व्यापार के लिए या सौदा लाने बाजार जायेंगे तो भी साथ ही रहेंगे। और अगर पुरुष ने स्त्री को गाली दी तो स्त्री उस कारण से भी नचाक दे देती है। इनकी स्वाधीनता स्त्री को यहां मुझे देखने को मिली। और ये लोग दिन के इतने घाक और ईमानदार होते हैं कि अगर किसी ने खून भी कर दिया तो अद्वान्त में जाके कहता है कि हाँ साहब,

**8. DR. Y. S. FARMAR.** (*Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh*)

Mr. President and friends,

After Shri Hari Bhau Upadhyaya I am hardly a proper person to address you on a subject which has already been discussed quite a lot today. The most important and vital factor on which depends the growth and development of all the tribal people is the matter of communications. I am glad some of the friends who have spoken earlier have drawn pointed attention to it. I am quite aware of the conditions of the different parts of the country where Scheduled Tribes are living. Quite a few of them are in the plains though most of them are probably in the hills. In the plains, the matter of communications is not so serious and I would like to know from the representatives of those areas what they feel about it. I had come to this Conference to know the real problems which come in the way of progress of these areas so that we can benefit and know the solutions of these problems. As far as the hills are concerned, I am, therefore, sure that nothing can really happen unless serious attempts are made not only to improve the communications but also to build a network of roads. Wherever it is not possible to have motorable roads, bridle paths should be built for pedestrians and mules which could link far-flung areas and provide an opportunity for their development. Some six years back while we are considering the budget provisions for Himachal Pradesh, I as a representative of the Congress in the Advisory Council, told the Chief Commissioner who used to preside, that all the development money which was being spent at that time was hardly making any appreciable difference to the economy of the people because of lack of any motorable roads or paths for pedestrians and mules. I further told him that so far as I was concerned, they could wind up the development department and spend money on the construction of roads. That may appear to be too dogmatic and it is to be remembered that to construct a road in the hills is not an easy job. It does not only need money and manual labour but a lot of experience of skilled labour to cut out rocks, to have roads levelled up and keep up that continuity which a road has got to have. So far our engineers do not have sufficient experience in this direction. With the experience they have gained in the last six or seven years, however, they can take up this work on a systematic basis which will allow all other activities to be taken up in these areas.

In our area, as in other areas, there are considerations which have to be kept in mind in the matter of dialect. It would be useful if the regional language

or Hindi is acceptable to the people. As a matter of fact if you give education only in Hindi ignoring other dialects there, they are likely to forget what has been their heritage in the matter of folk-lore which are composed in the local dialect. In the schools they are getting education through Hindi only, so there is the danger of their rich culture being forgotten altogether. I was quite interested to hear from my friend from West Bengal about the language of Tibetans. Especially it is quite in vogue in Chini. There is a small village by name Lippa, where one of the astrologers used to prepare the calendar in Tibetan, which used to be printed here in Delhi and sold in Lhasa and that is why the distinction has to be made. One Chowkidar in the rest house at the frontier is Lama and is supposed to be one of the most learned men of the area but he is employed as a Chowkidar and is a very honest and useful man. We are aiming not only towards literacy but what would also contribute towards the economic uplift. Instead of first thinking which dialect to be used and what scope has got to be provided, the main fact that deserves attention is that we will have to give education which will not produce persons who will hanker after jobs and will be of no use to the village in which they live. As such, education should be given a particular bias in favour of agriculture, handloom and horticulture, particularly small cottage industries which have so far been neglected. That will help people to build up their economy.

The major portion of the people have got to move down to the lower regions or plains in winter due to the ravages of climate and of heavy snowfall. For about six months or little less in a year they are more or less on the road without a roof. I do not know how many tribals are affected actually but I am aware about the tribals of U. P. and Punjab. So far we have failed to see how we are to stop exodus of men, women and children from places at 20,000 ft or so moving down to 3,500 ft. or less and then moving back again. Can we really make such people's income enough to enable them to live in their place? There is a definite change required in the outlook of the people which will help them not only to stop exodus but give them occupation in winter months. There is hardly enough food grown so far and that is to be helped by means of more facilities towards water channels and minor irrigation schemes for which water comes from the snows. This will not only make them grow enough food for themselves but also help them in removing the necessity of moving down to the plains for livelihood during winter months.

At present by taking to blanket-making and such other useful trades, the people provide one blanket for each member of the family, which they so badly need during winter, and one blanket for sale which gives them with which they can buy other necessities of life.

observed the manners and customs of the tribals. The tribals of India are a virile people. They love their independence and open-air life. The instinct of the nomad keeps them fresh and enterprising, but the struggle for life has been heavy against them. Defeat in this struggle is writ large in their faces, because they are not able to understand the modern conditions of life. Nobody taught them how to re-adjust themselves to changing conditions. They are brought up in a psychology which is out of tune with human progress. What they need most is a proper understanding of life as such, of life in all its phases. Some of them have to learn the laws of hygiene and dietetics, of sex and marriage. They have to understand how society functions and how politics controls life of man today. Their ideas of religion are often coloured with superstition and magic.

There are, no doubt, leaders amongst them, who have struggled and come forward, but a good many amongst these are concerned with career and political advancement. Great efforts are needed to carry on social education in the midst of the tribals.

The tribals in some parts of India are fast being assimilated into the general body politic, but in remote areas like Assam and the Nilgiris, they are still living in primitive conditions. I have a feeling that whenever our Prime Minister refers to the conditions of the tribals, it is the tribals of Assam that mostly come before his mind's eye. We should, however, recognise that the conditions of the tribal people change from State to State, and from community to community. We cannot, therefore, have a general formula which could apply to all. I wish to deal here, with a few problems connected with the life of these brethren of ours.

The first thing is about language. Some of us, especially the Hindi-speaking people, are anxious to introduce Hindi everywhere, and make it a compulsory subject because it has been accepted as the official language of India. I do want that everyone in India should learn Hindi, but the local and provincial languages cannot be neglected. The mother-tongue is the only language through which a child understands life and its relations to its surroundings. The mother-tongue, however small and undeveloped it may be, cannot be ignored, just as mother's milk cannot be replaced by any other milk. The mother-tongues of these tribal people may not be sufficiently developed. Their vocabulary may be poor. But I have found that they can express themselves powerfully. The intensity of their struggle for existence has lent force and directness to their languages. The tribal people, as soon as they begin their career of life, have to learn the provincial language which is generally used by the people surrounding them, and also in the market place. They do assimilate words from the provincial languages. We on our side, must now go out of our way and study the languages of the tribals and, we shall certainly find very apt and powerful words in their languages which, it would be worth-while accepting and assimilating in

our own languages. Let not the tribals be made to feel that they are an inferior people, that they have nothing to give and everything to borrow. I find that the Assamese language has borrowed good many words from the languages of the tribals. We should consciously aid the process and accept as many of their words as we can. This will make the tribals feel that we love them, and respect them, and that there is some element of affinity between their language and ours.

I am definitely of the opinion that primary education of the tribals should begin with text-books in their own language. The language which the child has learnt from its mother is the best vehicle for acquiring and assimilating knowledge in early stages. It is only when the tribal language is not able to cope up with more complex ideas and modern amenities of life, that words from the neighbouring or surrounding languages should gradually be introduced into these text-books. The tribal language should thus meet the provincial language, as also the national language—Hindi—just as a brook or a stream reaches a river or the sea.

The general text-books written for children of a province or a State should contain some lessons regarding the life of these tribals, and the tone should be one of brotherliness and respect; not that of a patronising, museum interest.

We read with interest and profit, the story of Robinson Crusoe—how he struggled against forces of nature under the most adverse circumstances, and how he conquered in that struggle. Could we not write similar stories and novels regarding the life of these tribals—their struggle for existence and their struggle for knowledge and understanding ?

The problem of script must be tackled without any delay. The Christian missionaries found it easy to introduce their own Roman script for the tribal languages. They knew nothing better, but this makes the tribals literate only in their language. It helps them to pick up English with some ease, but they find it difficult to pick up the neighbouring or the surrounding language because of the difficulty of script. Text-books and general books in the tribal languages should be printed either in Devnagri which is the script of Hindi, Marathi, Gujerati and Sanskrit, or they may be printed in the script of the surrounding language.

Government should print books for these tribals, for a generation or two, in two scripts—the same lesson being printed in double columns, one column giving the lesson in the script which the child is familiar with, and the other column giving the same material in the same language but in Nagri script. This will help the child to read the lesson with ease, and it will also help it to learn a new script through its mother-tongue. Special collections should be made of tribal poetry, and encouragement must be given to tribal p



healthy poems on modern subjects. We should be able to collect proverbs current amongst the tribals and introduce them in our own language in conversation. It will add grace and charm to our own literature, and we shall learn to love and understand these people. It is only through a careful exchange of life and thought that the tribals will be able to come closer to us; and then, they will feel that in spite of difference on the surface there is a substantial unity of life and thought between them and us. Let us not imitate the missionaries in their manner of indoctrination. Let us evolve a common life, with respect for the essentials of all religions. Let us not be dogmatic about this tenet or that. Let there be catholic understanding of various systems and cultures. Story books like Aesops Fables, Pancha Tantra and Hitopadesha should be introduced, first through the tribal languages and then gradually, through the State language and also through Hindi.

Music, dance and songs are powerful media of culture. It would be wise to study these, and there should be a joyful exchange in this field, between all elements of society. The process has happily begun, and in Delhi we are able to see the exquisite performances of the various tribes from the remotest corners of the country. And I am sure, very soon these tribal people will pick up the dance and songs from other parts of India. Scholarships must be given to them to go and live in other parts. We should not be surprised if this leads to inter-marriages, both physical and cultural.

As regards religion, I do not think we should be uneasy about the work of the missionaries. It is not by opposing but by lovingly accepting them, that we can cure them of their blind pride of superiority of religion and culture. Although coming from the west, they lack the culture of catholicity. Their devotion to the cause of education and service is admirable; and therefore their narrowness of creed and outlook has to be tolerated. In due time, they will learn to be catholic and learn to respect religions other than their own. They come to civilise us; we must give them an opportunity of civilising themselves by coming in contact with different cultures. This can be done only with sympathy and consideration.

Three great religions are influencing large areas of the world : Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. India has given shelter to all the three, and it is the mission of India to establish a familyhood of religions. Hinduism need not imitate others in the work of conversion or proselytisation. Hinduism can act as a leaven. Hinduism teaches unity of life, not only amongst all races of mankind, but the unity of the whole of sentient creation. Hinduism accepts Gnan, Bhakti and Sewa as of equal importance. Hinduism is based on the fundamental unity of all beings, both in soul and in God. It is something more than uni-

versal brotherhood or universal familyhood. Unfortunately, Hinduism evolved a social pattern where differences are emphasised and a sense of high and low is accepted and encouraged. Our social pattern has not yet been able to rise to the heights which our own religious thoughts and experience have reached. We have, therefore, to be humble and purge our society of all weaknesses. We must accept Buddhism, Islam and Christianity as members of our family, and study them with reverence. In our pride about our message of spiritual unity, let us not forget that we have not been able to establish the unity of man in our social behaviour. It is only after uniting our own people in the country that we shall be able to ask other religions not to divide mankind on the basis of creeds.

Another element that is powerfully disintegrating society is politics and the various 'isms' it has evolved during recent times. We should be able to steer clear of these various 'isms', both religious and political, and we should be able to come together in a spirit of love and humanity, and a spirit of service through which love can best be expressed.

The more I think about the condition of the tribals, the more is my conviction strengthened, that so far as education is concerned, the present-day education is not at all suited to the full development of our humanity. It is only the system of education placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi, which is known as New or Basic Education, that can serve the people. It is my conviction that basic education is eminently suited for the needs of the tribal people. They have in their own limited sphere, struggled for existence, and this struggle has given them the fundamentals of basic education. Very soon you will find that you will get better basic teachers from amongst the tribals, because they have been nearer to life and its problems. Let us start a training centre for basic teachers. Let us select from amongst the artisan and occupational classes as also the tribal, young men proficient in arts and crafts. Let us give them general education for three or four years, and let us spend another two years in teaching them the science of pedagogy. These teachers then start village basic schools and spread this new Education for Life, through the life of the people themselves.

In order to give prestige to this education, and to make it popular with the parents and leaders of various communities, Government must declare that in making appointments for Government services, the products of basic education will be given preference over others.

Let us not be guided with an indecent anxiety to mould tribal people into our own mould. Let them study the condition of their own life. Let them turn their attention inwards and examine their own concepts of life. Let them retain whatever they find useful or attractive.

assimilate whatever appeals to them. Let us place the best we have before them. Let us make it available to them on their terms, and let us leave them to evolve their own life. All the time, we must allow them to mix freely with us in our social life, and we should, out of love and brotherliness, mix with them with equal freedom.

It is thus and thus alone, that we shall be able to solve the problems of the tribals and enrich our national existence and strengthen our national solidarity.





## SHRI DATAR ON SHRI BAJPAI'S DEMISE

Friends,

Before we begin our work, I should like to make a reference to the sad and untimely death of the Bombay Governor, Shri Girja Shankar Bajpai, who was a great administrator and an expert in foreign policies. He had been of great help to the Government of India and it is extremely unfortunate that he died early this morning. In honour of his memory I would request the members to stand in silence for two minutes.

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Dr. K. N. Katju, (*Minister for Home Affairs*)

My Colleagues and friends,

Let me first begin by paying my tribute of respect and love to our great departed friend, Shri Girja Shankar Bajpai. When the history of India comes to be written for the concluding days of the British Rule, and the starting days of our own Independence, it will be found that Shri Bajpai's name occupies a notable place in our national history. He had been ailing for some months and he has ultimately succumbed to his illness. He was a man of great experience, ability and culture. I do not know whether this aspect of his life was fully known, that he was a learned man. We all feel sorry that he is gone. He could have served for many more years, but God had willed otherwise.

We have all come here for discussing one of the most important aspects in our national life. The number of tribals in India is very large. In Madhya Bharat, where I come from, in the Provincial Legislature of 99, there are 12 reserved seats for tribals. Tribals can easily be divided into two parts—the hill tribals and what I may call tribal people who live in the plains. In Madhya Bharat they are in large numbers. The distinguishing feature between the two is, as I imagine, that the people who live in the plains have got closer contacts with the non-tribals. The tribals living in the hill areas or in jungles lead a life of comparative seclusion.

I have been going through the papers which have been submitted to this conference, and I should like to congratulate friends on the ideas given in those.

papers. I am sure that discussion on these papers will initiate useful deliberations and the conclusions reached will be practical.

I wish to place before you just one or two aspects which I consider important, though they are really elementary and of basic importance. There is the question of approach. There can be no doubt whatsoever that day by day the political, social and other interest in our neighbours and friends and co-citizens in the tribal areas will increase. Great interest is now-a-days shown in cultural matters. Wherever you go, you find that tribal folk-songs and dances are now very much liked and are usually commended everywhere. In all big cities it is becoming a usual feature to see entertainments devoted to Manipuri dances and such other things. On our Republic Day on the 26th January here in Delhi, and I believe in other parts of the country, one of the most liked and looked for items is folk-dances, folk-songs, etc., and a large number of our brethren from tribal areas come here and mix with the people. This is very fine and I like it immensely. But as you know it is not quite adequate. You do not want to show interest in these dances and songs from a distance—not as if you were going to a museum or going into some other place to see some sort of public exhibits. What I want is greater human intercourse and not admiration from a distance. What I mean is that you should not look at these dances as you see everything else and come away, just as you would see some dances, some folk-songs of Hungary, Russia or Mexico. That is not the feeling that I should like you to have. I should like to have the feeling that they are my own people. I won't call them Manipuri dancers. I would call them just dancers. Suppose you go to Rajasthan or to Gujerat, you have got folk-dances there. In Gujerat it is called the Garba dance. I feel that the dancers are my own sisters and it is their local custom. That is not the feeling which I have at present so far as the tribal dances and folk-lore are concerned. To many people it is a distant admiration. That is not enough. We must develop a sense of oneness with them, a sense of unity with them. That is of essential importance and for that purpose it should be a two-way traffic.

In Assam, educationally the tribals are advancing. When I went to Shillong, I came across many Nagas who were highly educated, B.A's., M.A's and all that. Of course, they would love to live among their own people. I don't want to take them away. But I would welcome their appointment as teachers and professors—as many of them as can be absorbed in the plains so that they come here and meet Indians—their fellow citizens of India, and develop contacts and a sense of unity. That is of the highest importance. I would like Hon. Members of Parliament who come here and spend a few months here in their parliamentary

life to develop these contacts, to try to come into the closest possible touch with the local people here, and mix in their social functions, make friends, go into the countryside, go about in the villages, plains and spend the weekends there. That can all be arranged. Do not go on a sort of goodwill mission. I hate that word 'good-will mission'. Go one by one. Talk to the villagers, see their folk-dances and then you carry your impressions over there. Then you will find what India is, and of what great Continent we have now become members.

I shall look upon every Adivasi with a sense of greatest pride and admiration because I feel that we people who live in the plains just bowed and submitted to the foreign rule. Wave after wave came over us and we just ducked ourselves under it and bowed to it. But so far as Adivasis are concerned, they lived what we call a primitive life; they retired to the forests, jungles and hills and suffered innumerable hardships, but they never bowed their heads. They have a sense of independence. It is always a good thing. It is a trait of character which is admirable and I wish that feeling should prevail throughout India. We want this national characteristic to spread among all the people. The independence of India, the security of India then will never be jeopardised. If there is one section of the community who can say 'Look at our history, we have never submitted ourselves to foreign rule', they are the tribals. They have never done so. Now we have got to draw them out from their shells into which they have retired for their own protection—the jungles of Orissa, the forest of Madhya Pradesh, some other smaller areas in Madhya Bharat, and so on.

What should be done? As I said, it should be a two-way traffic. Bring as many people as you can and make them mix in the Indian society. Give them appointments and give them jobs, and when I read of schools, colleges and hostels and all that I feel that the greatest need of the hour is establishment of ashrams manned by Indians, two three and four, established in the heart of the tribal areas where Indians should go and live with them not with a sense of superiority or with a desire to teach them, but just as equals trying to learn and trying to make friends with them.

A good deal has been said in these papers about foreign missionaries. The missionary spirit today is greatly needed. I would like to have thousands of Indians going about and settling there and mixing with them, sharing with them in their daily life and indirectly pointing out to them the way in which people live here and the way which is dominated by modern conditions. It is a very difficult thing to do. I went in the Jalpaiguri district to a place called Mahakalguri. I was invited there by the local missionary. During the course of conversation he told me that he had not been home for 13 years. He had a compact colony with a boys' school and a girls' school. They were just two, husband and wife.



Now that is the spirit that we require here on the part of thousands of Indians, men and women, man and wife, father and daughter. These people should go there and make their homes amongst those people and talk to them. They should establish affectionate relations with them so that my brethren from the tribal areas will think that they are part of one great whole. Unless we do it, we will not touch the fringe of the problem. Political conditions will compel us to devote as much money, more and more funds, towards their amelioration. But this aspect of bringing them together and welding them into one solid integrated whole is very important. Who is going to discharge this duty and undertake this task? That is of tremendous importance—integration of people who have kept themselves, all these thousands of years, away because they wanted to lead a life of their own, because they wanted to keep their independence. I was astonished to learn when I went to Lushai hills the other day that the Lushais came under the British rule for the first time in 1891 or 1893. Till then there had been no rule over them. They had lived an independent life. You want them to come together and take part in this big India and rule not only over the Lushai hills but over the whole of India. I want them to become educated and to see that a tribal becomes the Prime Minister of India or the Chief Minister of his own State or a Member of Parliament. That thing can only be done by a large number of young people, our young Indians, going there and making a big family with them. This aspect of this great problem I should like you all to think over. Otherwise the solutions are, as pointed out, obvious, viz., their own handicrafts, their own cottage industries and the development of market and particularly the development of co-operative spirit in them to the highest degree, the establishment of co-operative societies—all that should be done. The task should not be very difficult because the whole tribal life is a co-operative life and if we introduce the co-operative life there, it will not be a very difficult job. The spreading of education is the next important thing. I have not gone deeply into the tribal areas. But they are fine people and education is there. I think about three months back I spent two or three days in Dr. Prem Singh's country and motored for miles among the tribals. I found there was desire for knowledge, desire for education and also desire for uplift and betterment. The old days have gone—the barter economy is finished. You demand development of communications and nobody will disagree with that. That is one of the first requirements. If these people come to towns and villages, they will become accustomed to what you may call 'money economy' or 'cash economy'. They will take the money and sell their goods. The days of barter economy are gone, where the life was limited and concentrated in the whole village. There were no contacts and no interchange of wealth. If we want what is produced in a Manipur village or a Bhil village to thrive, their handicrafts!

should find a market in New York and London. So, when we are considering this problem we should not lend ourselves too much to old ideas, but adjust our ideas to current day economic conditions.

Education for boys and girls should be spread as much as possible. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that literacy will increase. If today it is 10 per cent, in 10 years' time it will become 20 per cent, in 30 years' time it will become 50 per cent. There is such a tremendous hunger and desire for this. I went to Jalpaiguri and Alipur Duar. There Adivasis live. I said I should love to meet them. I was then the Governor of West Bengal. I went inside and they had collected, men on one side and women on the other side. I suddenly, without any previous warning, turned towards the women. They knew Hindi there. So I talked to them. I said: "You know who I am?" They said "Yes". After greetings I told them. "I have come to ask you whether I can assist you in any way, whether I can be of any help to you. Are there any difficulties from which you suffer?" They were rather taken aback. They did not expect the Governor to go and talk to them in this way. "You have asked us what we want. We have nothing and we want everything."

Then we became friendly. You will never be able to guess what the first demand was. They said, "We require girls' school." All these women were illiterate and all of them were dressed in the most unsophisticated fashion, with their babies in their arms. What we call civilisation was perfectly strange to them. I said, "What about the boys?" They said "We have got about 43 girls and we want a school for them."

I said what is the second requirement. They said, "Hospitals, and we want doctors and nurses. You mean to say that you are entitled to have nurses and we should not have any?" I said, "What is the third thing?" They said, "It is communication. We want roads." They are now becoming fully alive to their needs. The local legislators will not allow their State Government to sit idle. Dispensaries and schools will have to be provided.

The one thing which the Government cannot provide and for which we must create public opinion, is greater social intercourse, the development of that sense of unity. That old distinction between tribals and non-tribals should not exist. The whole of India is one, tribals are as much entitled to the whole of India as anyone else. I suggest to you a third time that these can be done by a two-way traffic—our people going down to them and settling down there, making the Lushai Hills and Khasi hills as much their home as it is tribals'. So much is said about shifting cultivation. It is no use talking to them. I go there,

purchase an acre of land and start an agricultural farm. My field of one acre becomes a demonstration farm for the people living in that locality. They see it and adopt it. At the same time, I want them to come here, become lecturers in our schools and colleges and also become Government servants in large numbers. I think it is the duty of the employers in every walk of life to see to it that the tribal people come and are employed and they come and live as Indians. This is one aspect to which I want to give a little emphasis. So far as ashrams are concerned, the one thing I have in mind is the Ramakrishna Mission Ashrams. I asked them why they did not establish one. They said the recruits were becoming few. Of course that is a religious institution and I do not want to emphasise the religious aspect. From the patriotic aspect I think different State Governments and public organisations should see to it that these ashrams are established.

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## 12. DR. PREM SINGH RATHORE

*(Minister for Health and Tribal Welfare, Madhya Bharat)*

Mr. President, Shrikantbhai and friends,

I entered this conference the other day in a mood of listening and learning, and I am thankful to the President for giving me this opportunity to speak a few words. I do not want to take your valuable time in giving you the details of the administrative reforms which we have been doing in Madhya Bharat because the small booklet handed to you yesterday gives our contribution towards the welfare of the tribal people. As the discussion went on yesterday, different views were expressed on certain aspects affecting the welfare of the tribal people. The question of educating the tribal people is really the foremost question in the minds of all of us and I personally feel that primary education should be imparted to the children in their own mother tongue. Wherever there is a well-defined tribal language, attempts should be made to encourage it. I am not one of those who feel that by promotion of the regional language, the local languages would suffer. So far as my State is concerned, we do not have different dialects at all. A slight variation of the local language is the language spoken by the tribal people there, and all our educational programme and the instructions are given in the regional language—Hindi.

The question of educating the tribal people has got administrative difficulties also. As we know, people are generally living scattered in villages and wherever a school is provided it is difficult for the teachers to remain there for a long

time, even though some States have given inducements like bad weather allowance or some extra promotions, grades, etc. But lack of other amenities and company causes them to leave the service on one pretext or other. Personally that has been my experience and of the few colleagues with whom I discussed this. We have been applying our mind to this. We tried to meet this problem by having a boys' boarding-house, a girls' boarding-house, a hospital with maternity facilities, a veterinary hospital, some agricultural and other vocational training centres, all these activities located at one place. The idea behind it is that there will be enough educated persons who can form their own company. They can give their whole attention to the welfare of the tribal people. It is in this way that I will request my friends here to find a way out.

The next question is whether they should be given a separate training or they should be allowed to mix with others. There are areas where you will find 99% tribals. You cannot force the non-tribals to go there. Wherever these people can mix with them, they must be encouraged. Otherwise the system of education should be the same.

Coming to the problem of reservation, you have given them 10% reservation in the services. My State at least has not been able to fill up that quota. The real difficulty has been dearth of educated youth coming forward. Now we have started a bold experiment. We have got two public schools which are well known in Madhya Bharat, the Scindia School in Gwalior and the Daly College at Indore. This year I got five Adivasi and five Harijan students, who were specially selected by an experts' committee of educationalists, admitted in these schools. Every year I propose to send ten boys like that. These tribal boys, coming out from these public schools will be as good as any other person and they shall be able to occupy the highest administrative posts.

So far as the land problem is concerned, that is the crux of the whole tribal economy. Tribals have cleared the jungles and made uncultivated land worthwhile for agriculture. Then, on one pretext or other, the land has been taken from them. That has been the story in a nutshell for centuries. So we took another bold step. We got a regulation passed that henceforth no land shall be given to a non-tribal in the Scheduled Areas and further there was a provision in it that there shall not be any attachment of land even if there is a court's decree to that effect. Thus we have ensured at least in future there shall be no land given to a non-tribal if tribals are available, and that has been one of the methods whereby we hope that in future a large number of tribals will be able to rehabilitate themselves on agriculture. Further a training scheme has also been started where special training in agricultural methods is being given to tribal boys.

Another question which we will have to tackle is debt relief. Adivasis are being bled by money-lenders by charging a very high rate of interest. The compound interest they have been charging is many times more than the original amount lent and unless debt reconciliation boards are set up soon, it will not be possible to raise the standards of the tribals and I hope if this conference will make a recommendation for debt relief, which should be followed in all States, it will be easier to improve their lot.

Coming to the forest, an attempt has been made in my State as also in other States, to form co-operative societies and give the contracts through them. But the facts must be faced. As in other spheres, so far as the tribal work is concerned, it is not the dearth of money or unwillingness on the part of the administrators, but it is lack of personnel like the social workers, whole-time workers, who will go and do something for these tribal people. So, if we can think in terms of having a Central Institute where training is imparted to those people who have got some interest in the tribal welfare and if these men can be sent to other States, I think this problem can be solved. Otherwise our providing crores of rupees in our next Five Year Plan will not help them. The money will be spent but the results achieved will be nothing.

And the point which has been uppermost in my mind is how to preserve culture of these tribal people. We have been spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees on their education. It has been my sad experience in so many cases that even during college holidays the tribal students do not want to go back to their people. They are ashamed to go back to their homes, and spend their time there. They feel they should be left in the boarding-houses. If that is going to be the result of our efforts, we shall only be weaning a few young men away from their homes.

When I went a little deeper into that, I thought it would be better to get a survey done about the cultural wealth of the tribal people in Madhya Bharat. Shri Devilal Samar of Lok-Kala Mandal, Udaipur, did the cultural survey of tribals and got recorded a few songs also. A report has been submitted by him to the Government. I feel that it is very essential that in every State we must have institutes where all these cultural aspects are studied. At certain places we can appoint a teacher who can give training to the Adivasis in their folk-songs dance, etc. I think we should preserve their old culture in the young men, otherwise we shall be producing a few thousand tribal people who would be ashamed of going to their own people and who shall only mix with the city people. Friends, I have put before you what I feel about this problem and I sincerely hope you will give thought to it so that in the end useful conclusions may be reached.

\*13. Dr. H. N. KUNZRU M. P.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference,

It seems to me plain that the object of our Constitution is to make the Adivasis, in all respects, equal to the rest of the population of the country. We have therefore to ask ourselves whether we are adopting proper methods for the achievement of this object. Can we say that our activities will lead, within a measureable distance of time, to the obliteration of all those marks of backwardness which unfortunately make us call some people as Adivasis? I am very doubtful whether this result will be achieved in 5, 10 or 20 years. If this has to be done, and I have no doubt that the Government in right earnest want to integrate Adivasis with the rest of the population, attention should be paid to those basic problems on which the progress of these people depends. Before speaking on cultural or educational or economic questions, I should like to point out that there are certain factors, which may not come under any of these heads, but which deserve most serious attention. It is not merely by opening schools that we can open the minds of the people living in tribal areas. They are against this. There are certain other things too, which, though whatever their effect be in practice, can powerfully influence the outlook and the development of the Adivasis. I think, and I have often said, that the means of communication are one of the most important of these factors to enable these people to go out of their areas easily, to reach say the headquarters of the district or the economic or other important centres of their district, so that they will soon be able to understand whatever there is around them, and be able to rub shoulders with others with confidence in themselves.

We want the Adivasis to come forward. For achieving this, we have to first develop their confidence in themselves and their ability to shape a new life themselves, by their own efforts, and I think the development of communications can play a very great part in this respect. There are other things too, for instance, the radio and the cinema. We know what use has been made of these agencies in certain countries for spreading education. Now, if we want to spread adult education, which I shall call general education, these two agencies can be of great help to the Government in improving the condition of the Adivasis and bringing them up to the level of the other sections of the population. In order to make use of these agencies, we shall have to consider how they can be directed towards the common good that we have in view. If we take a radio and go to

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\*Uncorrected.

the people living in the tribal areas, in the ordinary sense, it will not be of any help ; or tell them about what is happening in Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay, even that will not help. What is necessary is that we should study their mental development, find out what interests they have and then consider how those can be made use of in order to give them general education which they badly need in order to understand all people with whom they have to come into contact. The same may be said in respect of cinema. A great deal of effort will not be necessary to provide an excellent guide to us. Only we have to adopt the means that were used in other countries, under our own conditions.

This leads me to the consideration of two questions of cultural and educational development, which are being discussed here. If we want the Adivasis to have confidence in themselves, it is necessary that we should make them feel that there is something good in their neighbours and that they are not inferior in any way. This sense of inferiority must be slowly eradicated in them in order to enable them to advance. We shall, therefore, have to study their culture carefully. We all talk about Adivasi culture, but how many are there, even in this audience of the elect, who have given serious thought to this problem. At the Tribal Conference, that was held at Lohardaga last year, the anthropologists, to my mind, looked at the question not merely from the anthropological point of view but also from the social point of view, and included this question among others in their discussions. I do not know whether the Home Ministry have paid any attention to the discussions held there, but may I venture to ask them to give some attention to the discussions that took place in that conference. Anyone who goes to tribal areas knows, and can find out easily what great qualities they have got in their character or culture which are to be developed and which should be the means of educating those people to come forward. I was, only a few days ago, on tour with the States Reorganization Commission in Himachal Pradesh and the Chief Minister of that State, Dr. Parmar, who is present here, kindly took us first to Rampur Busi, which is about 84 miles from Simla and which is very difficult to reach. There was a fair there and we saw people of surrounding areas of that tehsil in that place. I was particularly interested in seeing the people of the Jin tehsil, who are regarded as very backward, but I found that these people are very intelligent and that they are honest and living up to high standards of morality. No doubt, in this respect they can set an example to other people who regard themselves as superior to these poor and illiterate people. We have only to give these people the means of communication, which they badly need and the education which is essential for their development and I have no doubt that the progress they will make in the course of a few years will surprise all of us. Speaking of education, I think it is necessary to point out that ordinary kind of education will not do. We have to educate

them in the real sense. We shall have to study some special factors bearing on the education of the tribal people, but apart from this we have to base the education on their daily experience and if this is done and the education that is given to them is of a practical kind, that enables them to use all those faculties on which their preservation at present depends, I have no doubt that we shall be laying a firm foundation for the enduring progress of the areas that we call tribal areas.

Coming to the economic factor, I am in agreement with those who attach the greatest importance to the adoption of measures for preventing the exploitation of these people. In my own State there are hardly any tribal people. Their number is so small as to be negligible. Nevertheless their welfare has to be attended to. Their numerical insignificance does not in any way affect the moral importance of the problem of doing all that is possible to enable them to feel that they are equal to any other section of the people of the State. Now, the workers of the Servants of India Society found that the greatest impediment in their way was their inability to obtain proper price for their forest produce and it was recognised that after construction of a road leading from one of the backward areas to which I am referring viz. Ludhi tehsil, they would have probably, without any great effort on the part of the authorities, been able to protect themselves from being exploited by the traders and money-lenders. The development of the means of communication will, I venture to say, help us in protecting the economic interests of the tribal people. But there are certain other things too, to which special attention has to be paid and if the Government issues the necessary directions to their subordinate officials, I have no doubt that in the course of a few years, they will be able to make a greater progress than they have done in the course of a generation in the past.

I should like to say one word more before I sit down. If we feel that the right way of enabling the tribal people to advance is to create a sense of self-confidence in themselves, to make them feel that they can do certain things for their own betterment, it is absolutely necessary that the help of their own people should be used in the implementation of measures meant to be carried out in the tribal areas. I know that my friend Shri Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is of this view. He will not be found unwilling to utilise a tribal agency for the development of the tribal people, but I think that the Government should pay more attention to it, and when I say Government I mean not merely Central Government who have the entire responsibility of the welfare of the tribal people, but also State Governments which are primarily and directly concerned with this problem. Where necessary, send educated non-tribal people to assist the tribal people, but try as far as you can to train young



men from the tribal areas in order to serve their own people. I have ventured to bring this to the attention of the Government more than once and I may stress on this factor again, because I think that nothing can enable us to rouse the spirit of self-help amongst the tribal people as much as the utilisation of their own agency for the carrying out of measures designed to promote their good. India is not the only country where the tribal people have suffered for lack of self-confidence. There are other countries in which, because they have lost confidence in themselves, they found it difficult even to maintain their numbers. Their population began to go down, but when the right kind of protection was extended to them, when schools were opened in order to train their own people to become doctors, engineers, teachers and so on, they regained their self-confidence and their population increased. Fiji is one of those countries where this has actually happened. If we also take such measures as are necessary in order to make the tribal people feel that they are not jungle people who can do nothing for their own uplift, but are normal people who have been left behind in the race of life for lack of the opportunities enjoyed by their more fortunate countrymen, I have no doubt that the object we have in view, will soon be achieved.

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#### 14. DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. P. (*Andhra*)

Mr. President and friends,

I would like to make a very brief intervention this morning. The justification for my being present before you is that I represent a double-member constituency, Visakhapatnam, with a seat reserved for Scheduled Tribes. The Adivasis of Andhra State, about 6·5 lakhs, constitute about 3 per cent of the total Adivasi population of India, and it so happens that during the past few years in particular, some attention was sought to be bestowed upon the needs of the people of this area. Most of you know, in the Ramayana there is mentioned a place called Dandakarannya. It is here that the Adivasis of Andhra live predominantly and I have travelled in these areas a considerable bit.

Here is a paragraph that I would draw your attention to from Shri Shrikant's Report, Page 36. These are his personal observations :—

“They are poorly clad and ill-fed. They maintain themselves on all sorts of unwholesome diet like mango kernels, bamboo shoots, bitter roots, tamarind seeds, etc. and are, in general, very much exploited by the plains traders and merchants to whom they are always indebted. The worst

exploited of these are the Scheduled Tribes of Koyas and Kondareddis of East and West Godavari Agency and Savaras in Palakonds and Parvatipuram Agencies of newly-formed Srikakulam District."

Some of my colleagues here have heard what I said two years ago, in this very same hall when the President inaugurated the first Conference. I have heard the Prime Minister's statement yesterday about the invasion of money or market economy into these tribal areas. A few minutes ago our distinguished friend and colleague spoke of barter or money economy. In these two statements there is a little snag. My experience of this area—and it is fairly considerable—based on personal knowledge is that there is no use of granting vast sums of money for the uplift of these people. (I am speaking only with reference to people in my particular area). In the first place you must ensure that the produce from the forests, which the Adivasis bring to the market fetches the proper price. I should like to have the evidence of Shri Shrikant and of the officers present here about what is being done. Another thing is the supply of consumer goods to the Adivasis at a reasonable level of price. I regret to say that nothing has been attempted in this direction at least so far as my place is concerned. I want to solve this twin problem of a fair economic price for the produce of the Adivasis and consumer goods being supplied to them at a cheap or reasonable price. What Shri Shrikant said about exploitation by the traders is correct. The market is monopolised by the traders. I will give you one instance. Go to any shandy in these areas. You will find money-lenders as the principal agents there. They have a monopoly. The people who bring their produce cannot possibly bargain and hold out for better prices. I want you to study this basic problem.

If any of you go up the Godavari river right up to Bhadrachalam, you will see something which makes your heart really bleed. On either side of the river, you will find tobacco being grown. We have pushed out the Adivasis into the interior and taken hold of the best land available from them and they are cultivating tobacco. I have had occasion to go into these areas and I am saying this without any mental reservation that the invasion of these areas by the plainsmen is perhaps the greatest danger to guard against. I had raised this question two years ago from this very place, but I regret to say, no solution has been found so far. Surreptitiously *benami* transactions are going on. I invite some of you to go up that river and see what is happening. It is not in an isolated spot, but right along the river this is happening.

Having said this, I would like to make one more point. More grants of money are being made and I regret to say that the money so far granted has not been utilised. Here, gentlemen, I would like to mention another important

thing. After considerable persuasion, my esteemed friends agreed to the establishment of a regional office in Kurnool. After some months that has been abolished and I am told there is no work for this Special Commissioner for the tribal people in Andhra State. Here is money sanctioned but money cannot be spent. And the statement is made that there is no work for this office. That is a matter which has got to be investigated into. What about the State Agencies? The State Agency has been created at Kurnool after considerable persuasion and communications. I would draw the attention of the conference and the attention of the Minister and Deputy Minister and the Commissioner here that these things should not go.

I have seen some of the roads made in my area. Lakhs of rupees go into their building and yet compulsory labour from tribes people also is utilised. The point I am making is that compulsory labour services are drawn by the contractors and officials. That should be stopped.

Wherever you appoint a central office or a regional office, do not establish it in the capital of the State or urban or city area. The officers do not get a living touch with the problem. Send them to the interior. To my mind unless the officer goes into the interior and sits there, he has no contact with the Adivasis. The nearest Adivasi area is 50-60 miles from my city and communications are bad, yet the regional office is located in Visakhapatnam. Under the circumstances how can you expect him to be in touch with the people? I would stress this point and I hope the authorities will look into this matter, and not allow officers to live in the cities but go right into the areas where they have to work. That should be the ashram atmosphere about which my friend, Dr. Katju, spoke a little while ago.

## १५. श्री लाल हेम्वरम, संसद्, सदस्य बिहार

सभापति महोदय व उपस्थित सज्जनो,

आज यहाँ पर जो सम्मेलन हो रहा है, इस अवसर पर कई वक्ताओं ने अपने-अपने विचार प्रकट किये। भारत के आजाद होने के बाद आदिवासियों का काम केन्द्रीय सरकार के प्रोत्साहन से बहुत आगे बढ़ा है। हालांकि अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ, लेकिन अभी-अभी गांवों में काम होने लगा है। हम लोग तो जंगलों व पहाड़ों में रहने वाले आदमी हैं। पढ़ाई, धन आदि सभी दृष्टि से हम गिरे हुए आदमी हैं।

अभी जितने भाइयों ने अंग्रेजी में भाषण किया, उसे मैं समझ नहीं पाया। लेकिन आप लोग कितना ही इंग्लिश में क्यों न बोलें, देहात की हालत जितना अच्छा मैं समझता हूँ, आप लोग नहीं समझ सकते। हममें कितना दर्द है, वह मैं ही बता सकता हूँ। सन्थाल परगना में गृह मंत्री ने आम जनता के बीच में स्पीच दी और देख के आये। उन लोगों के बदन पर कपड़ा तक न था और जो लोग पहाड़ों में रहते हैं उनको तो पीने के पानी की भी तकलीफ है। वे लोग शिक्षित लोगों से बहुत दूर रहते हैं। वहाँ की हालत देश के अन्य प्रान्तों से अधिक गिरी हुई है। मिशनरी लोग शिक्षित हैं और इंग्लिश बोल सकते हैं। लेकिन हम लोग तो सब गिरे हुए आदमी हैं। इसलिए श्री जयपाल सिंह बड़े नेता बन गये हैं। हम लोग गंगा का पानी रख कर गादी करते हैं। जिन लोगों ने हमारे रीति-रिवाज छोड़ दिये, उन लोगों को हमारे माथे पर चढ़ा रखा है। हमारे बीच में जितने स्कूल हैं वे सब पहाड़ों में होने चाहिए। दवाखाना होना चाहिए। हमारे अन्दर नाना प्रकार की बीमारियाँ हैं। कोई डाक्टर वहाँ नहीं जाता। वहाँ कोई पढ़ाने वाला मास्टर भी नहीं जाता है। १००) रु० दीजिये तो भी कोई जाने को तैयार नहीं होगा। हमारे इलाकों में बहुत सी जगहें ऐसी हैं जहाँ कि २५-३० मील के अन्दर कोई सड़क ही नहीं है, पैदल चलना पड़ता है।

हम इतने पिछड़े हुए हैं कि आज तक आजाद होने का मतलब हम नहीं समझ पाये। आदिवासियों के लिए, हम चाहते हैं कि, एक अलग कानून होना चाहिए जो कि दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में लागू हो। आदिवासी कल्याण विभाग जो हैं, उनसे हमारा कल्याण नहीं होता। उनके लिए शराब को बाँटल और सूअर कहाँ तक हम सप्लाई कर सकते हैं? उनमें से कई लोग हमारी भाषा नहीं समझते हैं। वे लोग अपनी इंग्लिश में बोलते और चले जाते हैं। सब जगह यही हालत है। वहाँ तो यह हाल है कि ब्रिटिश के जमाने में १९३५-३६ में हमारे ऊपर कोई १०) का कर्ज था जिसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारी १० बीघा जमीन चली गयी।

मिशनरी लोग कितना प्रचार करते हैं, यह आप लोग जानते हैं। इस प्रचार के द्वारा ये लोग राजनीति सिखाते हैं। इन लोगों ने आकर हमारे धर्म का नाश कर दिया। हमारा क्या धर्म है, क्या रीति-रिवाज हैं इसका ज्ञान भी लोगों को नहीं होता। ये मिशनरी तो अमेरिका के एजेण्ट हैं। अमेरिका से इनको मदद मिलती है। इन लोगों ने पैसा बाँटना शुरू कर दिया। हमारे जिले में १०-१२ लाख आदिवासी हैं। मैट्रिक तक पढ़ाना मुश्किल हो जाता है। मुश्किल से मैट्रिक तक पढ़ाते हैं ताकि महाजन लोग हमें हिसाब में धोखा न दें। बिहार गवर्नमेंट ने जांच पड़ताल करायी। लेकिन हमारा कानून ऐसा है कि कोई गरीब आदमी मामूली चीजें लेकिन कंट्रैक्टर्स लाखों रुपया खा जाते हैं तो उन पर केस चल

कि वकील से सलाह न ली जाय। पकड़ना है तो दोनों को पकड़ना चाहिए। उनके लिए तो सरकारी वकील रखा गया है। लेकिन हमारे लिए कोई वकील नहीं दिया जाता है।

जंगलों की रक्षा करना हमारा फर्ज है और हम रक्षा करते हैं। सरकार गांवों को यह अधिकार दे कि वे जंगलों की रक्षा करें। मेरा दूसरा निवेदन यह भी है कि हमारे पैदा होने तथा मरने का हिसाब ठीक रखा जाय ताकि हमारी जनसंख्या का पता चले। हम आदिवासी तीन करोड़ थे। अब पीने दो करोड़ हो गये। ये सब लोग वाकी कहाँ गये? कहीं भाग गये, या मर गये? इसका पता तो लगना चाहिए।

हमारे यहाँ यह स्पेशल मैरेज बिल क्यों पास हो रहा है इसको कोई नहीं समझता है। जंगल जाने के लिए लाइसेन्स लेना पड़ता है। हरेक चीज की दिक्कत है। दूसरे पंचवर्षीय योजना में आदिवासियों के लिए अधिक से अधिक ग्रांट दी जाय और हम लोगों को इस बड़े व्याज के जाल में से बचायें।

## 16. SHRI JAIPAL SINGH, M. P. (Bihar)

Mr. Chairman and friends,

First of all I must apologise for having been absent yesterday. I could not come because I had to be in Ambala to attend a court case.

I hope what I say will not be treated on a personal level. As is well known, I hold very very strong views, views which are unpalatable to others and as I am an Adivasi, they will continue to be unpalatable. Everybody from the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Home Minister to the specialist has talked about the right approach. I have been hearing this every year, but I have yet to see this right approach made. I have travelled a good deal and everywhere. Certainly from where I come, I see we are not making any right approach. You will, therefore, ask me what is to be done? The first contribution I have to make in regard to this is this. Try to help them through themselves, that is to say their betterment, certainly not their uplift—it is an abnoxious, ugly word. I have protested before also against the use of that word. Let us say advancement or development or anything else. To put it plainly, what we do need is something of what Dr. Katju in a very limited way said—the missionary spirit. Not a condescending attitude but a missionary spirit—something which impels you to go and live among them, not for your own good but to serve them. Suppose I go among Hindus to cure them of their vices—Hindus are also

full of vices. This idea of treating them as poor *junglis* should go. I see it in the highest places, I see it in the Home Minister, in the Centre. When you talk of the right approach, what do you mean? Are you the only person who can make that approach? Is the Adivasi incapable of helping himself with your assistance? There must be the right spirit, as our Prime Minister said, after one of his visits to Assam side, that wherever he went in those Assam Hills, he found it was foreigners who were working among the hill folks and he never found an Indian national working in the way they did.

Now, sir, this brings me to the next item, which has taken a serious turn, in the issue of our attitude towards foreign missionaries. I have always, from the very beginning of my political career, been against proselytesation in the tribal areas. We have to go and see things ourselves. There are certain things that foreign missionaries have done and will continue to do which should not be stopped. Let us not adopt a dog in the manger policy and be hostile to foreigners simply because they are foreigners. Take hospitals or schools or colleges. Where are we if we don't have these foreign missionaries? The type of thing that is being encouraged by political parties, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, is something which we should be ashamed of. Either do something yourself or get out. Therefore, to my mind the correct approach is to work through the tribals themselves. Centuries of antagonism have existed between the tribals and the non-tribals. It is the non-tribal who has expelled him from his original land. It is the non-tribal who is responsible for his isolation. I am not thinking in terms of isolation, but I do not accept Dr. Katju's advice to this conference. Individual non-tribals penetrated and did incalculable damage and now he wants more to go there. What did the Prime Minister say? If you have an open door, the most undesirable persons will get in there. The Constitution has therefore provided certain safeguards. I think the first thing to do is to have a Land Commission to see what can be done to rectify matters. For example, take Assam. Due to the *zulum* of the administration, a lot of tribals have emigrated from Assam. The land has been left behind. What happened to that land? A situation has arisen in Assam where they would like to have those people back. Dr. Lanka Sundaram has mentioned about the tobacco fields in his area. Something has to be done. The Government of Bombay is facing a similar problem in the Thana District. Let us not live in a fool's paradise. The damage of centuries cannot be put right in a day and that is why I do not lose patience with Shri Shrikant. I am very fond of him; really, it is not his fault. That worthless report which he has produced, he cannot help it. It is there on record. The same thing is continuing. What has the Union Minister himself done? What I say, sir, therefore, is that this conference is itself setting about the problem in the wrong.

way. What has happened to the conference today ? Mrs. Khongmen has convened it in the name of a political party. I do not like that. This matter should be above party politics. That is the first thing. Invitations were issued by Mrs. Khongmen. She came to see me and this is the point I raised, because the tribal problems are above party politics. I can say that is why your party lost seats in the tribal areas. Strengthen the hands of the Centre and State Governments with a non-party outlook.

Sir, I have concrete suggestions to give you as to how this conference should be conducted. Dr. Katju should not be sitting there. Shri Shrikant should not be sitting there. The conference should last for a week. The first part should be presided over by tribals. Let the Ministers and officials sit facing the tribal M. P.'s and M. L. A's. Let the country know what the tribals are thinking about you. Adult franchise is something which you have given under the Constitution. That you have to reckon with. You tell us what you think. That will be the second part. Then in the third part of the one week conference, the executive aspect, where the Government officials will tell what they are doing and what their difficulties are. Then we will get somewhere. Otherwise there will be the same Shrikant type of report.

As far as what we call the backward sections of the Indian community are concerned, there should be a specific Ministry to look after this very important problem. The country has to go ahead as a whole, and so long as there is a break in any sector of it, the country's progress as a whole is retarded. I do not know whether this point has any appeal to the cabinet. I am not merely thinking of Centre; in the States also that particular problem, to my mind, is very important. Take an important State like Bihar. It has the largest number of tribals in India, but have you a separate Minister for Tribal Areas there ? No. In addition to many other subjects for which he is responsible, he is also responsible for the tribal welfare. That is because the political party in power did not get a majority in the tribal area. I feel that the drive has to come from the Centre. I do not know, under the present Constitution, how we are going to solve this problem—education for example. I have one suggestion to make. I have seen a particular experiment in British West Africa. Right from the earlier stages, a variety of subjects, technical, non-technical, even medical, have been taught there. If we have an institute of that kind here, tribals from all over India, boys and girls, will be there as students. At present there is a sort of isolationism which should be gradually destroyed and at the same time those who are non-tribals could see the particular difficulty of the tribals. I fully agree with Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Go to the people, that is where we want these institutions, not in Ranchi town or any other urban area. I do feel we have to expand the activity on behalf of the tribal people.

There are one or two other points. I do feel that serious thought should be given to this question of a specialised cadre. I am not going to welcome social workers who are politicians in guise. If they are genuine social workers, I certainly support Dr. Katju. They are the type who can do immense good. But I as a tribal would tell you that some of them are getting vast sums of money which they are misusing.

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Replying to Shri Jaipal Singh's allegation that the conference was a party affair, Mrs. Khongmen, the Convener, pointed out that although the Conference had been convened by the Congress Party in Parliament, it had been done in accordance with the wishes of all the tribal members, irrespective of their party affiliations. Everybody was free to express his views and everybody considered the welfare of tribals his primary concern and the party affiliations came later.

#### 17. SMT. RENU CHAKRAVARTHI, M. P. (*West Bengal*)

Mr. Chairman and friends,

I, of course, will not take much time. I just want to wish this conference a great success. I think this is the first conference in which both the State Ministers as well as representatives of the public have been invited. The only point on which I would like to lay stress, is that unless we are able to level up the various backward areas of our country, like the tribal areas, the unity of India cannot be maintained. It is no use telling the tribals that we are one with them, unless they feel that they really have all the amenities and opportunities of life which are ensured to other sections through generations of theirs having had a better start. Now, how are we to do it? That is, for what this conference has been called.

In my constituency, I have seen people who really come from the Santhal Parganas—that area is known as Sunderbans. They spent all their lives to clear the jungles and they were promised that they would be given those lands but slowly they were ejected from their lands and now they form a large bulk of landless agricultural labour. It is this problem, the economic problem that we have to tackle along with the cultural and other problems. We have to safeguard the richness of their culture and at the same time, prevent any further exploitation. Therefore, I feel that these two are the problems which we have to face in these areas.



To solve the economic problem the first thing to do is to prevent the land from being snatched from them. Secondly the land which has been snatched away from them should be restored and thirdly we have to enable them to earn enough to support themselves. These are the three things to be done, besides tackling the industrial problem and other problems of the backward people which for the moment need not be taken into consideration, because they form part of a bigger national problem and which must be tackled in an all-out manner.

The second point is their cultural heritage. That is a very very important point on which many speakers have already stressed. We talk of mere culture, mere education in keeping with their own heritage. I would like to mention that in the hill state of Tripura, our party has done much towards providing educational opportunities. Dr. Katju may well call it 'lawlessness.' but here we have started some 1000 schools and some of these have had to be closed down because of the utter lack of help from the Government. In many of these areas, there is no script or printed literature and printed literature had to be given to them, not in English or Bengali but in their own languages. They have themselves adopted certain scripts. We should make available to them their own literature in their own language and scripts. How are we to do it? Many speakers pointed to this, and that we should not go to them as outsiders. Mr. Jaipal Singh has condemned the use of the word 'uplift'. I certainly agree with him, we should help them up so that they can, by their education and attainment, be able to fight for a better life.

I have recently been to China. I was most interested to see one thing there, and that is how they are solving the national minorities problem. The Prime Minister has talked of every things except this one point of National Minorities University. There we found that the national minorities had come to this University from Sinkiang, Tibet and from other backward areas. Some come from junior schools, some come from middle schools and some from even lower standards. They have a preparatory course of two or three years' duration depending on the standard of education they attained in their basic schools and after that they are sent to technical schools and colleges and trained along with others. This is a quick way of really developing cadres from those very people and to give back the trained to serve their own people. Is there any such university in our country, where the backward people are trained in such cadres, as doctors, technicians, administrators, clerks and in various other capacities? I would not like the idea of sending people from outside, who are often very much unsuited to those areas, because the area does not offer amenities to which they are accustomed and their attitude and outlook may be wrong. I think that these three aspects have to be borne in mind if we really want to level up these backward areas, and the tribal areas.

With these few words, I wish success to the conference and hope that the conference will arrive at certain decisions regarding the economic and cultural aspect of the problems and for the training of suitable persons from amongst the tribals who would go back to their areas and work for the betterment of their brethren.

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#### 18. SHRI YESHWANTRAO M. MUKNE M. P. (*Bombay*)

I come from Bombay State and before I go any further, I must mention that today we are meeting in a very sad atmosphere. Our Governor, Shri Girjashankar Bajpai has passed away. Hon'ble the Home Minister and the President of this conference have already paid very fitting and touching tributes to his memory. We in Bombay State, one and all, those from the advanced communities and those from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities, are feeling this loss. As Dr. Katju pointed out, Shri Girjashankar Bajpai was a man of great experience in various walks of life. Bombay has lost a great friend in Shri Bajpai.

A lot has been said and discussed regarding the problems which face the Adivasis in this modern day India. So I will not take much of your time in repeating things. I will just read a portion of my paper, which I have submitted, to give my friends an idea of the conditions prevailing today in the area which I come from. I am a representative of the Thana-Kolaba Adivasi area in the Bombay State. The Central Government is trying to improve the lot of the tribal people. But we have a hazy notion of what the Government propose to do. For instance, a few crores have been earmarked by the Government in the first Five-Year Plan for the improvement of the tribal people, but we do not know what portion of this money is for our respective States. I do not know what is the share of the area which I represent. It is necessary that we should be informed about the actual amount to be spent in our area and for what purpose it is to be spent. We can then be in a position to make suitable recommendations to the Government and to explain to our people about the development schemes which are planned to be implemented in our area. To that end, therefore :-

- (a) We would like to know and to be assured of the exact financial allocation from the Centre for development schemes in different areas.
- (b) We should like also to know and to be assured of the financial allocation from the State Governments.

I suggest that the Central and State Governments should chalk out development schemes for the specific Adivasi areas in each State and we should have a yearly report as to the progress of the development schemes.

There should be a Central Adivasi Committee to keep direct and continuous contact with the Central Government and the Planning Commission. This committee would safeguard the interests of the Adivasis and help the Government in speeding up the development schemes. This will also help the Government in creating the necessary enthusiasm among the Adivasi people for the development schemes.

Administrative headquarters should be located in the midst of the Adivasi areas so that the Adivasis can represent their own grievances or difficulties personally to the higher authorities directly. This will also mean that many people from different professions will inhabit these areas and thus the cultural life of these areas will undergo a healthy change.

## १६. श्री पो० एन० राजभाज, संसद सदस्य, बम्बई

(प्रधान मंत्री, अखिल भारतवर्षीय परिगणित जाति संघ)

सभापति महोदय,

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि आज यहां यह कान्फरेन्स हो रही है। मेरे विचार से, इसमें हरेक दल तथा हरेक प्रान्त के प्रतिनिधि होने चाहिए। गवर्नमेण्ट तो हर वक्त है ही, लेकिन ज्यादा लोग आदिवासियों के ही प्रतिनिधि होने चाहिए। हर वक्त हम आदिवासियों और हरिजनों का नाम लेते हैं, लेकिन ७ वर्ष हो गये अभी तक कुछ नहीं हुआ। हमारी हालत खराब है और जो दूसरे बैकवर्ड क्लासेज हैं, उनकी भी उतनी ही खराब हालत है। उनके लिए तो ऐसी पक्की स्कीम होनी चाहिए जिससे उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक हो जाय। हरिजन, गिरिजन, आदिवासी आदि लोगों के लिए एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री अवश्य होनी चाहिए।

यहां आदिवासियों के ईसाई बन जाने का जिक्र किया गया है। मेरा विचार यह है कि अगर कोई दिल से ईसाई हो जाय तो कोई बात नहीं। लेकिन जो ईसाइयों के अस्पताल आदि खोले जा रहे हैं, यह सब तो केवल ईसाइयत को फैलाने के जरिये मात्र हैं। अस्पताल खोलने का नतीजा यह होता है कि जो मरीज वहां चिकित्सा

कराने जाते हैं, वे अपनी कृतज्ञता दिखाने के लिए ईसाई बन जाते हैं। पहले उनकी संख्या ज्यादा थी। अब कम हो गयी। संख्या क्यों कम हो गयी? उत्पत्ति तो कम नहीं होती है। हम लोगों को यह समझना चाहिए कि ईसाई या मुसलमान बनने से हमारी हालत बदलनेवाली नहीं है। उनको ऊपर उठाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। श्री श्री-कान्त जी ने कई अच्छी सलाहें दी हैं, लेकिन स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स उन पर अमल नहीं करती हैं। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस काम में अधिक दबाव डालकर काम कराये। हमारे चेयरमैन बेचारे सलाह लिखकर भेजते हैं, लेकिन उन पर अमल नहीं होता है।

जात-पात को नष्ट करने के लिए बड़ी स्कीम होनी चाहिए। मेरे ही इलाके में कई लोग कम्युनिस्ट बन गये। इस उम्मीद से कि उनको ज़मीन मिलेगी आदि आदि। लेकिन ज़मीन कहां से आयेगी? लोग बेचारे विश्वास कर लेते हैं।

हमें आदिवासियों की भाषाएं भी सीखनी चाहिए ताकि उनके बीच में काम कर सकें। ईसाई लोग उनकी भाषा सीखते हैं। उनके बीच में काम करते हैं। उनके लिए अस्पताल खोलने चाहिए। साफ दिल से काम होना चाहिए। बड़े-बड़े अफसरों को नियुक्त करने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा, बल्कि अपने ध्येय को पूरा करने के लिए साफ दिल से काम भी किया जाना चाहिए। और मेरा एक कहना है कि दरअसल हमारे दलितवर्ग और आदिवासो विद्यार्थियों को यूरोप वगैरह स्थानों में स्कालरशिप देके भेजना चाहिए और गवर्नमेण्ट में हमें ज्यादा प्रतिनिधित्व मिलना चाहिए। पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में आदिवासी और दलित वर्ग के हमारे प्रतिनिधि होने चाहिए।

समय बहुत कम है। लेकिन मैंने जो कहा है कि शेडयूल्ड कास्ट और आदिवासियों के लिए जल्दी से जल्दी एक अलग मंत्रालय या डिपार्टमेंट जब शरणार्थियों सरीखा हांगा, तब हमारी उन्नति सब प्रकार से हो जायगी।

**20. SHRI RADHAGOBINDA ROY** (*Minister for Tribal Welfare, West Bengal.*)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I had no mind to speak here. I came here only to listen. However, when I have been asked to say something, I shall say only a few words.

The problem of the tribal people is extremely complex. We have to improve the lot of the tribal people within a .c

to a civilised level. The most important problem is their economic problem. They are extremely poor. Even if we make arrangements for giving them free education in the primary and secondary stage, the tribal students cannot avail themselves of this opportunity unless we make simultaneous provision to give them sufficient stipends. In West Bengal, we are trying to build clinics, hospitals and adult education centres, to make arrangements for drinking water in tribal areas, to distribute seeds and manures amongst the tribals, to supply pumping plants, to distribute breeding bulls etc. which the other States are also trying to do. We are greatly handicapped for want of money because in West Bengal the problem of giving shelters to the refugees and to rehabilitate them is gigantic.

The method of approach for improving the condition of the tribal people I must frankly admit, which the Christian missionaries have devised is praiseworthy. It may be that the primary object of these missionaries is to convert the tribal people into Christianity but it must be admitted that their approach is a loving approach and deserves praise.

In the Constitution of the Indian Union, the tribal people have been given equal rights and opportunities with other people and every attempt is being made to improve their lot in all spheres and to make them not only useful citizens but also to make them feel that India is their motherland.

I am positively sure that retaining their special and peculiar characteristics they will be incorporated within the broad society in India. My friend Shri Jaipal Singh who is a fluent speaker criticised the approach of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the tribal people but I am constrained to say that his fluency covered the deficiency of logic in his speech. However, from what I have heard here I come to the conclusion that the Government in every State throughout the Indian Union is taking steps to improve the condition of our tribal brethren.

## २१. श्री सारंगधर दास, संसद् सदस्य, उड़ीसा

सभापति जी और दोस्तो !

मैंने जब श्री हेमब्रम जी का भाषण सुना तो मेरे ख्याल में आया कि यहाँ जितने आदिवासी मौजूद हैं, उनके लिए हिन्दी में बोलना मनासिब होगा। मैं इसलिए हिन्दी में बोलूंगा।

मैं उस चुनाव क्षेत्र से आ रहा हूँ जहाँ बहुत आदिवासी हैं। उनकी समस्याएं जानता हूँ। मगर जितना हेमब्रम जी ने कहा, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है कि सरकार करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रही है। पहले ब्रिटिश के जमाने में कुछ भी खर्च नहीं होता था। मगर जो कुछ खर्च अब तक हुआ वह भी काफी नहीं है। और वह खर्च भी सही तरीके से नहीं किया जाता है। उसका कारण यह है कि जो आदिवासी समस्याएं हैं, उनका अच्छी तरह से कोई अध्ययन नहीं करता।

पहली चीज यह है कि आदिवासियों के स्वास्थ्य की रक्षा के लिए कुछ ठोस इन्तजाम करना चाहिए। बहुत जगहों में कई-कई गांवों में कुआं नहीं होता है जिसकी वजह से आदिवासी लोग गन्दा और सड़ा हुआ पानी पीते हैं और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि कभी किसी गांव में कोई एक कोलरा का केस हो गया तो सारा गांव खतम हो जाता है। जिस जगह कपड़ा धोते हैं, वहाँ का पानी पीते हैं। इन बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिया नहीं जाता है; पैसा तो खर्च काफी होता है।

अब दूसरी बात यह है कि आदिवासियों के लिए उच्च शिक्षा की जल्दी नहीं है। फिलहाल गांव-गांव में प्राइमरी स्कूल होना चाहिए। हमारे उड़ीसा प्रान्त में आश्रम स्कूल होते हैं। मुझे तो मालूम नहीं कि यह ठक्कर वाप्पा का विचार था। हां, यह सही है कि २०-२५ मील से आदिवासी लड़कों को लाकर वहां शिक्षा दी जाती है और सिर्फ आदिवासी ही वहां पढ़ते हैं। कल प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि धीरे-धीरे हमारी कार्रवाई ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि आदिवासी और गैर आदिवासी दोनों अलग अलग न हों। अगर अलग स्कूल इस तरह से खुल जायेंगे तो यह भेद भाव कैसे दूर होगा? आश्रम स्कूल की नींव में ही गलती है। उनको तोड़ देना चाहिए। और जैसा कि दूसरे भाई कुछ कहते हैं कि मिशनरी स्कूल और अस्पताल सेवा करने के लिये हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि मिशनरी लोग जो सेवा करते हैं, वह अच्छी है। मगर इसमें याद रखने की बात यह है कि वे लोग उतनी दूर से आकर क्यों सेवा करते हैं? इसलिए कि लोगों को ईसाई बनाया जाय। आदिवासियों को लाकर हिन्दू बनाना भी एकदम गलती होगी। अभी हिन्दू समाज को जो स्थिति है उसमें दूसरी जाति, दूसरे लोगों को, जिनके कि अपने कुछ अलग विश्वास हैं, लाना ठीक न होगा।

जमीन के विषय में गवर्नमेंट गलत काम कर रही है। उड़ीसा में १५ वरस पहले एक रियासती इलाके में एक राजा था। सिंगभूम की तरफ से १०-२० हजार परिवार वहां आकर बस गये। फिर उसका विलीनीकरण हो गया। और वहां हमारी प्रान्तीय सरकार आ गयी। मगर फिर भी ५ वरस तक वह जमीन उन आदिवासियों की नहीं हो सकी। जितने भी सरकारी अफसर वहां जाते थे, वे उन लोगों से ५-१०

रुपया घूस लेते थे और कहते थे कि यह ज़मीन तुम्हें दिला देंगे । लेकिन अभी तक नहीं हो पाया । “जो जंगल काटता है उसपर जुर्माना होना चाहिए । जितने साल से खेत की है, उसके लिए कुछ पैनाल्टी देनी होगी” । यह सब ठीक नहीं है । जिन लोगों से ज़मीन छीन ली गयी है उनके लिए नयी ज़मीन बनाकर देनी चाहिए । गांव-गांव में ऐसी ज़मीनें हैं जिन्हें कि आदिवासियों को दिया जा सकता है । मगर दिया नहीं जाता । जहां-जहां नयी ज़मीन बनायी जाती है उसे दूसरे लोग, बड़े कहलाने वाले ले लेते हैं । भोपाल सेण्ट्रल ट्रैक्टर आर्गनाइजेशन ने जो ज़मीन बनायी है उसको शरणार्थी और दूसरे लोगों ने ले लिया है और आदिवासियों को उसमें से कुछ नहीं मिलता है ।

जो ट्राइबल वेलफेर डिपार्टमेंट है, उसकी नींव ही गलत है । जितना रुपया मिलता है, उसको खर्च करना चाहिए गांव-गांव में प्राइमरी स्कूल खोलकर और नज़दोक में जो दूसरी जाति के बच्चे होंगे उनको भी उन्हीं स्कूलों में भर्ती करना चाहिए । गांवों में अस्पताल तो जरूर ही होना चाहिए । कम से कम “चलता-अस्पताल” होना चाहिए । हरेक गांव सड़कों से लगा हो ताकि किसान अपना गल्ला बाहर भेज सकें । जगह-जगह को-आपरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ भी होनी चाहिए ।

इतना कहके मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

## २२. श्री रणदमन सिंह, संसद सदस्य, विंध्य प्रदेश

सभापति जी, उपस्थित सज्जनो !

आदिवासियों के बारे में कल से इस कान्फरेन्स में बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है और बहुत से प्रतिनिधि जो हरेक प्रान्त से आये हैं अपने-अपने सुझाव और विचार पेश कर चुके हैं । हमारी सरकार जो कुछ आदिवासियों के प्रति कर रही है, उसके लिए हम सरकार के आभारी हैं । मैं कुछ अपने प्रान्त के बारे में भी प्रकाश डालना चाहता हूँ । मुझे दुख है कि हमारे प्रान्त के प्रतिनिधि कोई नहीं आये हुए हैं । आप लोग इससे अंदाज लगा सकते हैं कि उनको आदिवासियों के कल्याण में कितनी दिलचस्पी है ।

मैं और अधिक बातों पर न जाकर श्री उड्के और लाल हेम्व्रम जी कुछ कह चुके हैं, उनका समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार को इन सारी बातों की सिफारिश की जायगी । मेरा सुझाव है कि आदिवासियों का, जो शोषण किया-

जा रहा है, वह उनके लिए खटमल और दीमक की-सी बीमारी बन गयी है। सरकार को यह शोषण खत्म कर देना चाहिए। यह बीमारी इतनी खतरनाक है कि बेचारे आदिवासी किसी तरह से भी अपना सिर उठाने नहीं पाते। जो आश्रम स्कूल कहीं-कहीं खुले हुए हैं उनमें भी आदिवासी अपनी लड़कियों को नहीं भेजते। क्योंकि उनमें एक प्रकार का वहम पैदा किया गया है कि यह सब ज़मींदार लोगों की चालाकी है। वे कहते हैं कि मद्रास में कोई पुल बन रहा है; वहाँ पर इन लड़कियों को कुर्बान किया जायगा। कभी-कभी यह कहा जाता है कि इन लड़कियों को इंग्लैण्ड भेजकर वहाँ किसी से शादी करा दी जायगी, आदि आदि। इस प्रकार के बेसिर-पैर के भ्रम उनमें पैदा किये जाते हैं। जो इस प्रकार कर रहे हैं, उनपर सख्त कार्रवाई की जानी चाहिए।

एक बात और है। आदिवासियों का शोषण ज़मींदार और महाजन लोग इस तरह करते हैं कि जो ज़मीन पहले से उनके कब्जे में आयी थी और ५० वर्षों से काबिज थी, ज़मींदारी उन्मूलन से आज वह ज़मीन आदिवासियों के हाथों से चली गयी। क्योंकि ज़मींदारों के लिए ऐसा कायदा रखा गया है कि मुआवजा देके उनको ५०-१०० एकड़ ज़मीन उनके पास रखी गयी है। जो अच्छी-अच्छी ज़मीन किसानों ने मेहनत करके बनायी हुई थी, उन ज़मीनों को ज़मींदारों ने हड़प लिये और हड़प रहे हैं। अब किसान ज़मीन से हाथ धो बैठा। हरेक भूमिहीन को ज़मीन मिलेगी, ऐसी आशा थी, मगर आज वह भी चली गयी। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि सरकार जल्दी से जल्दी ध्यान दे कि जो भूमिहीन हैं, उनको भूमि दे।

महाजन लोग बहुत तरह से लूटते हैं। आदिवासी लोग सूद कुछ भी हो, महाजनों से उधार लेते हैं और जो गल्ला होता है उसे नियत भाव से भी बहुत कम में उनसे महाजन खरीद लेते हैं। इस तरीके से उनका बड़ा शोषण होता है। अगर सरकार मेहरबानी करके कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी और पंचायतों द्वारा उनकी गरीबी को दूर कर उनके संरक्षण के लिए कोशिश करे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जल्दी ही यह शोषण चक्र धीमा पड़ जायगा। पटवारी लोग भी इनको बड़ा तंग करते हैं। वगैर २०-२५ रुपए के बैल या और कुछ देने के उनका कोई काम करते ही नहीं। आदिवासियों को शराब पिलाकर उस नशे में उससे दस्तखत ले लेते हैं और इस तरह उनकी सारी ज़मीन हड़प लेते हैं।

इस प्रकार से इस शोषण के विषय में कितने ही उदाहरण दिये जा सकते हैं। संक्षेप में मैं सरकार से तथा आपके कान्फरेन्स के सभापति जी से यही निवेदन करूँगा कि आप किसी भी प्रकार से शोषण का खात्मा करा दीजिये तो बाकी चीजें धीरे-धीरे ठीक हो जायेंगी।



### 23. SHRI BAHADURBHAI K. PATEL, M. P. (*Bombay*)

Mr. President and friends,

We have here a unique opportunity of meeting almost all Ministers in-charge of Tribal Affairs, many officers concerned, social workers, sympathisers and tribal members of Parliament. The idea of this conference arose from the discussion regarding grants-in-aid by the Central Government to the State Governments. Our President of this conference, yesterday, enumerated vast sums of money allotted for the tribal welfare activities. Various Ministers explained to us the sort of work going on in their respective States. The revered President of the Republic of India and our Beloved Prime Minister have great sympathy and love for the simple tribal folk of our motherland. The Home Ministry spare no pains in looking after their well-being. In spite of all these favourable circumstances our achievements do not seem to be so bright and are not commensurate with the toil under-taken. It might be that we have grown so impatient after the achievement of Independence and hope that the things would change overnight, which is not humanly possible. Still, however, a sort of discontent prevails regarding tribal welfare. The grants-in-aid given by the centre are not spent fully by some states and the allotted amounts lapse unutilized. Sometimes plans and schemes to be submitted by State Governments are not ready or they are submitted very late, as pointed out yesterday by the President of this conference, and hence money is not sanctioned in time and can not be utilized fully during that financial year. Some states are not willing to contribute their share and hence the Central Government decided to allot money whether they contribute to it or not.

Sometimes the allotted sum is spent by the States in some general welfare works, not specifically meant for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas. I request all States to contribute liberally and spend all that is earmarked for them for tribal welfare only. It is a matter of a great regret that, in spite of the fact that crores of rupees are being spent for tribal welfare all over India, we have not been able to produce any man of all-India fame just as the Scheduled Castes have in Shri Jagjiwan Ram and Dr. Ambedkar. We have to find out where the water is going. Perhaps it has not reached the very roots of the plant to give it new leaves, flowers and fruit.

Tribals, as we all know, are very simple, innocent and law-abiding people and would admit having committed any crime without caring for the conse-

quences. Their simplicity goes so far that they put down their thumb impressions on the account-books of money-lenders where Rs. 100/- is written, while they get only Rs. 50/- cash. Whether it is a sign of quality, I do not know. Tribals are leading poor, miserable lives mostly in hills and jungles with scanty clothing on their bodies, broken huts which can hardly give them proper shelter and a basketful of belongings. Still as if unaware of all these conditions, they try to enjoy life by singing and dancing and playing on music. Though hard-working, they are very less vocal and assertive and would easily be cheated by anyone. They are the most neglected of our countrymen, even worse than the refugees. Attracted by this sorry state of affairs, the father of our nation Mahatma Gandhiji and Pujya Thakar Bapa came to their rescue and put a new life in these insignificant half-dead. Our holy Constitution has provided for many safe-guards for them and put these simple folks directly under the supervision and care of the President of our Republic. Shrikantbhai, the chosen disciple of Thakar Bapa has been entrusted with this hard task as a custodian, who after taking great pains, submits an elaborate annual report suggesting a number of ways and means for tribal welfare. But how, when and by whom these are to be implemented remains a question to be solved. The Central Government assures us that no tribal welfare activity should suffer on account of money but after all it rests with the State Governments, to carry on the work in the right direction. The Central and State Governments are requested to give Adivasis full rights over the forests they live in, in a systematic way; protect their lands by special legislation, save them from the exploitation of merchants, traders and money-lenders, educate them, make them skilful agriculturists and provide them with small-scale and cottage industries. The whole family working will raise them to better lives in lesser time. We request the Government to bear in mind, that apart from reservations, ten years time for the regeneration of any race is negligible in the history of reforms. For the education among tribals, credit goes to Christian missionaries as is apparently seen from the allotment of scholarships whose lion's share goes to Assam and Bihar. Other States are not even able to consume their own quotas in the case of tribals. To come up to the level, the State Governments should help them from the very beginning *i. e.*, primary and secondary education.

Great injustice has been done in the enumeration of population, especially in Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh which should be rectified as early as possible to give them full benefits.

With these few suggestions, I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to say a few words and pray to Almighty God that He may give us courage and strength for this great humanitarian work; that lies before us all, in whatever capacity we are.

24. SHRI BIMALAPROSAD CHALIHA, M. P. (*Assam*)

Mr. Chairman,

I am grateful for this opportunity given to me to attend this conference and to participate in the discussions. For obvious reasons details cannot be discussed in a conference like this and therefore I propose to confine my brief speech to making observations on certain broad policies which I have considered to be important.

I feel, Sir, that if India means to exist as a progressive and strong state we must conceive of a day when the causes which are responsible for feelings of provincialism, castes and classes will no longer remain and we all will live as people of one country with equal rights—political, social and economical. Therefore in taking every decision we should keep this object in view. This object could be achieved by undertaking various economic and social measures.

So far as the Scheduled Tribes and non-tribals are concerned, there must be cultural progress if we mean to progress in the direction I have said before. I am intentionally avoiding the word assimilation, else it might be misunderstood. I do not want assimilation of the tribals by the non-tribals in the same way as. I do not want assimilation of the non-tribals by the tribals. What is necessary is cultural fusion of the tribals and non-tribals. Another important matter is equality in social status. Although our Constitution has given equal status to all, I feel that our society has yet to realise this duty with all its implications. This is a matter where the responsibility lies wholly with the society.

With regard to the schemes for the benefit of the tribal people, I believe that for the success of the schemes it must have relation to the sociology of the tribal people. Unfortunately this subject has so far received very little attention. I would therefore suggest that the initiative for the schemes meant for the development of the tribal people should come from them and the experts should only assist them to perfect the schemes.

There were discussion in this conference regarding tribal language and regional language. The tribal language should be given full scope for development. At the same time it will be in the interest of the tribal people to learn the regional language and in the same way it will be in the interest of the non-tribal people living near a tribal area to learn the tribal language of their neighbours. There should of course be no imposition but there should be adequate facilities for learning of these languages in the respective areas.

There were also discussions in this conference about the scripts for the tribal languages. In my state, Sir, most of the tribal languages are written in Roman script. Changing script of a language means a lot. I would plead that the decision about the script should be left to the tribal people and to the literateurs. Let there be no imposition of any script. Let us go in the matter according to their choice.

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**25. SHRI DASARATH DEB, M. P. (Tripura)**

Sir,

I come from Tripura State. I can say that I know the tribal people there. A Tribal Welfare Advisory Committee has been formed at Tripura. There is not a single tribal representative in that Committee. I know I enjoy the confidence of all the tribal population of Tripura and now also before coming to this eighth session of the Parliament here, I travelled at least 200 miles in my tribal area and visited several places. I had discussions with the tribal people and I can claim to know their feelings. I have got all records and I am quite prepared to hand them over to the Government. I do not know what work, if any, is being carried on by the Advisory Committee. The tribal people also do not know the activities of this Committee. Is this the way the Government should behave? You know in Tripura there are certain big tribes, and according to Government records there are about 25,000 tribal families. On the basis of Shri Shrikant's report, some money was given for the tribal welfare. We do not know how that money is being spent.

I want to make another point. Whenever any officer of the State Government visits Agartala to consult, to know for himself the condition of the tribal people, he confines his visit to Agartala only and his discussions are also confined to certain high level officials, but these officers do not gather any material or data from the tribal people. If any meeting to discuss the tribal affairs is held, the tribal people are not represented there. We have submitted memoranda to the Government giving certain concrete suggestions but nothing happened. We do not know what the Government have done with our memoranda.

Now my demand is this. When you want to give them social equality, you should not ignore the economic rehabilitation of the tribal people, and I think this aspect is very important and urgent. Hundreds of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are now without houses and without land. They are agricultural labourers. Some of them have been doing shifting cultivation.

Government have passed an order preventing them from doing it. Is this the attitude of the Government towards the tribals? Suddenly the Government have issued such an order. They have no means of livelihood. If they are not allowed to do this, ultimately they will die. So, the first thing is all tribal people should be given land and certain area of land should be specially set apart for them and these people should be allowed to rehabilitate themselves on such land. Even during the Maharajah's rule in Tripura, certain lands were reserved for cultivation by tribal people. I do not know whether the same law is in force in Tripura, but the fact is, the tribals are now being evicted from their lands.

I have submitted certain memoranda regarding education and how it should be given to the tribals. The first thing is primary education. In 1945, I, myself, along with some other social workers started 1100 schools with the help of the people. Out of these, only 500 schools are being given help by the Government the rest are being maintained by the tribal people themselves and these schools are now at the point of collapse. So I request that these schools should receive help from the Government.

There is another point. The tribal people live in jungles and hills, scattered all over. I do not know about other parts of India, but I know very well about my own State, Tripura. I have got a good idea. I personally have been to so many places. At least in the matter of education, Government should make out some programmes. We do not want high schools or secondary schools at every place. At least in every divisional or town headquarters where there already exists a high school or secondary school, there should be a residential boarding house, with a capacity of 100-150 students exclusively for the use of the tribal students.

I want to suggest another thing. There should be a some sort of non-official tribal welfare committees formed at Tripura as well as in other places. This committee should have the full co-operation of the Government. That committee should find out places where these tribal people can be rehabilitated. Primary schools should be established. Let the money purse be kept by the Government. We do not bother about money; we will hand over plans to you. You give them money, you give them lands. At least we may point out to you how it should be done. In Tripura, I can suggest certain plots for their rehabilitation. On the Government side, they are doing nothing to rehabilitate these poor people. They are actually denying them land. This is not the way in which the tribal people should be treated by the Government.

There is also another dangerous policy which is being followed by the Government of Tripura. That is the requisitioning of lands from the tribals.

The tribal people have been cultivating certain lands for the last so many years, and suddenly they are being evicted from their lands. The lands are taken over by the Government in the name of requisitioning. I want this thing should stop immediately. These poor people after clearing the jungle and waste land, settle themselves there quietly. Now the Government drives them out. The Government of Tripura now demands Rs. 25/- as *salami* for leasing lands to the tribal people. There is no question of leasing. Give them full possession of that land for settlement without any conditions.

I want to say nothing more. In this conference members from forest areas, from different tribes and members of Scheduled Castes have expressed their own feelings as to how these tribal people should be treated. The Government should take note of their views and do whatever is necessary. I have heard speeches from Government benches also, from the executive heads in charge of this in the various states. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is also present here. I request—and it is also my right being a representative of the tribal people, and being a citizen of India—the Government should take note of the grievances stated in the course of this conference and take immediate measures to redress them.

## २६. श्री एम. जी. उइके, संसद् सदस्य, मध्य प्रदेश

सभापति महोदय, उपस्थित मित्रो !

आज जिन महान् विभूतियों के परिश्रम से मैं एक आदिवासी ३ रुपये महीना कमाने वाले नौकर का पुत्र इतने बड़े भवन में आप विद्वानों के सामने बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ, उन महान् विभूतियों में महात्मा गांधी और पूज्य ठक्कर बाप्पा हैं; जिनके कृत्यों से मैं आपके सामने बोल सकता हूँ, उनको मैं कोटि कोटि धन्यवाद देता हूँ। आज उनके पश्चात् डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, हृदयनाथ कुंजरू, काका साहेब कालेलकर इत्यादि विभूतियां हैं जिनके ऊपर हम भरोसा रख सकते हैं। इसके अलावा आप जितने महाशय यहाँ उपस्थित हुए हैं भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों से, उनके भाषणों से हमें यह उम्मीद होती है कि हम आदिवासियों का खाली होहल्ला ही नहीं होगा, बल्कि हमारा उत्थान होकर रहेगा। और हम आशा करते हैं कि आपके सहयोग से हम आदिवासियों को इस लायक बना दिया जायगा कि हम कुछ दिनों के बाद अपने पांवों पर खड़े होने के काबिल हो सकेंगे। आपसे मैं प्रार्थना

करूँगा और सभापति जो से भी प्रार्थना करूँगा कि आदिवासियों का दृष्टिकोण समझने की थोड़ी कोशिश करें।

सज्जनो, वर्तमान काल, ऐतिहासिक काल, पीराणिक काल, वैदिक काल का इतिहास तो हमें उपलब्ध है, किन्तु वैदिक काल के पूर्व का इतिहास आज किजो से उपलब्ध हो सकता है तो वह कुछ आदिवासी लोगों की कोल, भोल, गोंड, मांडेरों जाड़ो इत्यादि जातियों से। उनकी दन्त कथाओं से, उनके नृत्य तथा गानों से ही हो सकेगा। यह इस बात का सबूत है कि आदिवासी लोग इस देश के सबसे पहले के रहने वाले हैं। वे लोग मैदान छोड़कर जंगलों और पहाड़ों में क्यों चले गये? इसके लिए अधिक उदाहरण न देते हुए केवल एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। वह कारण है, उनको अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा की भावना। यह सबसे बड़ी वपीती बचाये रखने के लिए वे मैदानों से, सभ्य लोगों की प्रभुता से परेशान होकर जंगलों और पहाड़ों में चले गये। आज उनको संस्कृति के बारे में बहुत सी बातें होती हैं; किन्तु दूसरी बात आपको यह देखने की है कि आज इस समाज की हालत क्या है और हर समाज के लिए किस बात की जरूरत है? आपको मालूम होगा कि हर समाज के लिए धर्म-सत्ता, अर्थ सत्ता, समाज सत्ता और राज सत्तायेँ चार सत्ता होनी चाहिये। तब वह समाज आराम से अपना जीवन व्यतीत कर सकता है। अगर ये चार सत्ताएँ उसके पास नहीं हैं तो वह अपने आराम की जिन्दगी बसर नहीं कर सकता। आप देखिये, ये चार सत्ताएँ आदिवासियों में कहाँ हैं? आप देखेंगे कि धर्म सत्ता पुराण, कुरान, गुरु ग्रन्थ साहब या बाइबल के रूप में उनके पास नहीं है। जो उनका रहन-सहन है, वही उनका धर्म है। आज उनके इस धर्म का चारों तरफ से नाश हो रहा है। इस तरीके से वे धर्म-हीन हो गये हैं। अर्थ सत्ता तो उनके पास पहिले भी नहीं थी। बाद के काल में इने गिने गोंड राजा जैसे एकाध विशिष्ट व्यक्ति के पास धन था, यह अलग बात है। आज आदिवासियों की अर्थ सत्ता ऐसी हो गयी है कि वे कहीं के न रहे। आज उनकी समाज सत्ता भी ढीली होगयी है। हाँ, कुछ राज्य सत्ता थी, जिसके एक प्रतीक मध्य प्रदेश के कल्याण मन्त्री सारंगड नरेश यहां बैठे हैं। आज राज्य के विलीन हो जाने से अब वह राज्य सत्ता भी न रही। अब कुछ राजनीतिक हक मिले हैं, जिसके प्रतिनिधि हम संसद् सदस्य यहां आये हुए हैं।

आज हालत यह है कि ५० फी सदी आदिवासी आज आदिवासी नहीं हैं। कल सभापति जो ने मध्य प्रदेश के कल्याण विभाग के मंत्री सारंगड नरेश का परिचय आदिवासी कहके दिया है किन्तु यह गलत है। वे गोंड हैं। आदिवासी नहीं हैं। और इसीलिये, उनको जनरल क्षेत्र से चुन कर जाना पड़ा। इस तरह २४ लाख आदिवासी मध्य प्रदेश में आदिवासी नहीं रहे।

अभी थोड़ी देर पहले श्री जयपालसिंह बोल रहे थे । उनका भाषण सुनकर आप सब हँस रहे थे । मेरा मन रो रहा था । मुझे उनका भाषण सुनकर दुःख हुआ । दुःख इस बात का कि अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा करते हुए हम आपके साथ रहे, लेकिन अफसोस कि एक भी आदिवासी आपने इस योग्य नहीं बनाया कि जो श्री जयपाल सिंह सरीखा आपके ऊपर प्रभाव डाल सके । लच्छेदार इंग्लिश भाषण से आपको हँसा सके ।

डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू, डा० काटजू ईसाई मिशनरियों की प्रशंसा करते हैं । ईसाइयों ने कम से कम एक श्री जयपाल सिंह तैयार किया है । किन्तु आपने क्या किया है ? लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि श्री जयपाल सिंह आदिवासी नहीं हैं । आदिवासी तो अज्ञानी होता है । जंगली होता है । जिसने अपना धर्म बदला वह आदिवासी नहीं है । (श्री जयपाल सिंह, संसद्-सदस्य आदिवासी ईसाई हैं) वे इतने ज्ञानी होगये हैं कि आज ये आदिवासी कहलाने योग्य न रहे । यह आपकी भूल है कि इतना ज्ञान होने पर भी आपने उनको आदिवासी माना । उनमें आदिवासी दृष्टिकोण नहीं रहा ।

आदिवासी दृष्टिकोण हम में है । धर्म परिवर्तन आदिवासियों के लिये एक बड़ी समस्या हो गयी है । मुझे इसी धर्म परिवर्तन को रोकने के लिए अपनी नौकरी जब मैं रेलवे में नौकर था, कुली, पोर्टर और बाबूगिरी के परिश्रम से मिलायी हुई नौकरी छोड़कर इस मैदान में आना पड़ा और मिशनरियों के खिलाफ काम करना पड़ा और उसमें मेरा ठक्कर बाप्पा ने साथ दिया । जिस वक्त मिशनरियों का बोल-बाला था, मैं मंडला गया था । उस समय ठक्कर बाप्पा दौड़े हुए आये और श्री सावरकर भी आये । मैं और श्री कान्त जी ठक्कर बाप्पा के साथ में थे ।

आज भी आदिवासियों की यह हालत है कि अगर आप जाके उनसे उनका “धर्म” पूछेंगे तो वे अपना “धर्म” नहीं बता सकते । लेकिन वही आदिवासी जब मिशनरियों के पास गया तो वह कहता है कि हमारा धर्म केथलिक है । विचार कीजिये ? मिशनरी कितने ही अच्छे हों और हमारी संस्कृति कितनी ही जंगली और गिरी हुई क्यों न हो, हम अपना धर्म और संस्कृति छोड़ने को तैयार नहीं हैं । इन मिशनरियों की करतूतों का कितना भी बखान किया जाय, थोड़ा है ।

एक जगह सुगुजा जिले में इटली के एम्बेसिडर ने आदिवासी इलाके में चर्च के अन्दर आदिवासी लोगों को बुला-के यह बताया कि “हमारे पास इतना पैसा है कि हम इस राज्य को आपके सुपुर्द कर दें । पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू से हम ज्यादा ताकत रखते हैं ।” इस तरीके से हम लोगों के सामने आवाज उठाना हमारे लिए कितना हानिकारक है । इसकी सरकारी जाँच होनी चाहिए । यह लगभग दस दिन के



अन्दर की बात है। इस तरह की घटना मध्य प्रदेश में हुई। इसका हमारे दिलों में आज दर्द है।

मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने एक जाँच कमेटी मुकर्रर की है, जो कि अब काम कर रही है। यह जाँच कमेटी हमारी शिकायतों पर से मुकर्रर हुई है। जब यह कमेटी जाँच करने गाँवों में गयी तो ऐसा देखा गया कि जिन हिन्दू भाइयों का और आदिवासियों का खून खौलता था उनको इतना पैसा दिया गया कि वह जाँच कमेटी के सामने उपस्थित ही नहीं हुए।

अगर हमारी उन्नति का प्रयत्न करना हो तो आप हमारे आचार-विचारों का दृष्टिकोण रखकर करिये। ऐसा न होकर अगर हमारा धर्म परिवर्तन करने के लिए करना है तो हम आपसे निवेदन करेंगे कि हम जंगलों में रहना पसन्द करेंगे। हमको वैसा ही रहने दीजिये।

अब मैं अपना लेख पढ़कर सुनाऊँगा। मेरी स्थिति ऐसी है “गती भई मोरी साँप छछुंदर केरी” या “कहूँ तो माँ मारी जाय, ना कहूँ तो बाप कुत्ता खाय”। मेरे लेख में वास्तविकता है। इसलिए मैं क्षमा चाहता हूँ कि कोई बुरा न मानें।

(उपर्युक्त भाषण के उपरान्त, वक्ता ने अपना लिखित भाषण, जिसकी कि प्रतिलिपि इस सम्मेलन की संयोजिका के पास मौजूद है, पढ़ा)।

## 27. SHRI C. MISHRA (*Secretary, Tribal and Rural Welfare, Orissa.*)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of myself, and other officers present here I must, at the outset, thank you, Sir, for having given us this opportunity of listening to how, the Prime Minister and his colleagues at the Centre, Ministers in-charge of tribal welfare from the States, and the representatives of the tribals themselves, view the problem which is engaging our full attention at the desk and in the field. Being a conference of representatives of the people, it is but natural that our work should be criticised more from the political point of view than from any other, and in a democratic set-up it is not possible to divorce politics altogether from any phase of administration. Being an officer, however, I shall treat the subject in as factual a manner as it may admit of.

The tribal, Sir, is on the onward march. He is making himself felt not only in the hills of Assam but, as you have said yesterday, has an effective voice

in Parliament and the State Assemblies. He wants to be better represented in the services. In my State he (he includes she, for as a minister said yesterday, the Adivasi takes his wife along with him, and I add vice versa) is growing, thanks to the Labour Laws, from strength to strength, as the most important factor in the mines and in industry. You cannot contain him in the forest saying that for him is a forest economy because he belongs to the forest ; you cannot make him museum piece in this age of self-determination ; your anthropologist will have to climb down from his 19th century role of dictator to the much humbler one of adviser, for the tribal representatives in the Houses will have it as they desire and not as the anthropologist prescribes. Truly, therefore, the Prime Minister has said that development of the tribals and tribal areas will have to be taken up in the tribals' own way.

The Prime Minister has emphasized upon the economic aspect of the problem. So far as Orissa is concerned, the tribals are not much different from the equally backward people among non-tribal communities. They have the same problems and privations. In my State, the problem of the tribal is mainly his poverty. Properly assisted he will, no doubt, make up the leeway which has been widened in the past by neglect and exploitation. I do not agree with those who claim that the tribals have been exploited by the non-tribals as a class. It is true that most of the tribal exploiters were non-tribals, but the poor non-tribal did not escape from exploitation, in the past, for the reason of being a non-tribal. The rich, the privileged, (the so-called English education was a privilege) exploited those who were not fully equipped to protect themselves.

Many tribals in Orissa have numerous cultural traits common with the non-tribals. The backward population still live a community life and rarely come to our courts in preference to their caste guilds or *panchayats*. Women-folk among 2/3rds of our population assist their partners in outdoor work. Here, however, there is marked difference : whereas the non-tribal poor man would like to keep his wife indoors if he could, the tribal's poverty does not always restrict the movements of his wife. Then the tribal, can live a colourful life in the midst of poverty, for he does not care to live up to the standard of social life of the so-called high class non-tribal. His special cultural traits are not, however, such as would lead to his permanent isolation. On the other hand, they do tempt us to draw him closer to us, to add to the colourfulness of Indian civilisation which is a product of age-long assimilation and diffusion of cultures.

Leaving out of consideration, the minority enjoying the fruits of Indian education, or benefiting by the social conditions created thereby, the tribal is, more or less, in the same social and economic condition as the other backward

people. Of course, the tribal is worse off. His misery too is based on poverty as my Minister has explained in his paper on the land problem of the tribals.

Under the circumstances, therefore, all the schemes that we have framed and are executing, aim at improving the economic condition of the hill tribal. The need for special consideration for him indicated in the Constitution is due to the fact that whereas the problems of the others had begun to be recognised, the tribal was left alone, on account of the British policy of keeping him in a glass house.

Our education schemes on which we laid great emphasis, at the out-set, are an integral part of the programme of economic development. The curriculum followed in our institutions is different from that of the ordinary primary and lower secondary schools, but it is not exclusive. At various stages, the door is open to the boys to go out of these schools to ordinary schools, if they so desire. At the end of the term of the ashram schools, boys do go up to the regular high schools and my Minister has already told you that they are none the worse for having been in the ashram schools. Our schools are popular too ; from 30 in 1948 we have now nearly 2000 students in the ashram schools and from 500 in the same base year, we have now 26,000 in our sevashrams. Critics sometimes attribute it to the board and lodging that we provide. But we also provide the same to students in other schools.

Our students have to give the same attention to the learning of crafts as to general education. The co-ordination between the two is naturally conditioned by the availability of good teachers. We have also to fit them for an examination at the threshold of the high schools. None of our students has tumbled at it yet. We admit that our teaching of crafts is just a bit more intensive than in the basic schools, where it is the medium of education only. We believe in the dictum, earn as you learn, as an insurance against the ever-increasing educated or half-educated unemployment.

India is going ahead not only on account of the new things that we are imbibing from foreign countries, nor because of the industries that we have started, but because we are firm and secure in a sure and steady agricultural economy in the villages. That background must be provided in the tribal areas. They must be good agriculturists and good carpenters before they can produce good industrialists and good engineers. Those who fall back at the ashram stage are being fitted to fill this role. I need not say that in the villages they will not simply be craftsmen but because of the general education that they have had, they will give the most needed leadership to their villages.

Another point of criticism is, why special schools. Mixed school can only

be in non-tribal areas. There are many tribal students in such schools. There they will naturally be swamped by the number of non-tribal students in the schools. Even after they have passed their examination and got jobs, they simply improve their individual prospects and are almost lost to the community. But good or bad, the urge of the Adivasi for higher education of the prevailing type has to be encouraged for obvious reasons, and the State Government is giving annually nearly Rs. 8 lakhs in such stipends. You have heard that out of over Rs. 70 lakhs worth scholarships that Government of India gave to post-matriculation backward class candidates, Adivasi boys got only Rs. 8 lakhs. The condition in our State is not very much brighter.

Those students who would not have gone to other schools are brought to ashram schools located in the midst of Adivasis themselves and kept there for six years in a homely atmosphere in the hope that they will develop naturally and provide leadership to their own people.

I cannot say that the ashram school experiment has been an unqualified success. That this scheme has now been taken over by other State Governments has not made us complacent about it. I cannot say that the criticism levelled at them at this conference by some Orissa M. Ps. is entirely unjustified. I do not claim that all our teachers are good. They are not. But they are the best available. You know, Sir, the best students in schools or colleges do not opt to be teachers and those who fail to get a decent job in the plains, offer to go up the hills as a last resort. The Government of Punjab is waiting for Adivasi boys to be educated and trained to work in their own areas. They find it difficult to induce outsiders to live in Adivasi areas. We are planning the same way, but we have succeeded in inducing some people, good, bad or indifferent, to cut the first sod. They may be bad so far as education and training is concerned, but we make sure that they develop a mind to work and a good mental attitude often makes up for deficiency in other attainments.

In running our schools, we adopt the trial and error method. It is tribals' own method and perhaps the only method for new jobs. We have succeeded in weeding out undesirable teachers and in picking up really good and sincere workers.

The criticism that we are trying to convert tribal boys into Hinduism at the ashram schools has really taken me aback. I do not know, Sir, the process of conversion to Hinduism. So far as I know the Hindu does not build his theology on any particular faith. The term 'Hindu' is more geographical than theological, and religion in India has no article of faith but is a way of life. Hindu religion, therefore, may, in simpler words, be interpreted as 'the Indian way of life' and the Prime Minister has said that there is not much difference so

far as the way of life is concerned between the tribal and the non-tribal in India.

Missionaries did make this complaint against us during the first years, but they were satisfied when they saw that the ashram student was always encouraged to have an open mind in regard to religion and the first song of the prayer book adopted in the ashram schools, the ashram Bhajanabali, begins with a Christian psalm.

Shri Sarangadhar Das, M. P. also complains that we are only trying this experiment of ashram schools, instead of starting primary schools in the rural areas. During the last few years, Sir, we have started 600 special primary schools called sevashrams in tribal areas in addition to the even higher number of ordinary primary schools, recently started by the Education Department. We have sunk more wells in tribal areas than were ever sunk in the past 400 years, 36 co-operative societies are working in the tribal areas to stop exploitation by the money-lenders. Over 70 colonies have been started for settling the tribals on land. Large acreage of waste land has been leased out to tribals. I cannot give the exhaustive list here as it will not be proper to say much off-hand.

I may conclude, Sir, because I have exceeded your time limit. We are making a serious and sincere attempt to improve the lot of the tribals under the guidance of a Minister, who is a tribal himself and who is keenly watching our progress. That some of the tribal and other Members of Parliament from Orissa, do not appreciate our work is perhaps due to the fact that we have not placed full facts before them yet.

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**28. SHRI B. RACHAPPA** ( *Commissioner for Depressed Classes in Mysore* ).

Mr. President and friends,

I would first of all like to make a suggestion for consideration by this conference and the Government.

Next year, we should have a seminar at which the officials from States, like the Commissioners and Directors of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Members of Parliament, representatives of various non-official organizations doing welfare work and other interested persons should be invited. They should be formed into sub-committees and each sub-committee given one or two subjects relating to development of these people. They should also be supplied the entire literature available on each subject and then asked to make their recom-

mendations. A public conference should afterwards be held to consider the recommendations of each sub-committee and then the accepted reports of the committees may be printed in the form of a book and submitted to the Government for implementation.

This would dispense with the necessity of holding conferences of this nature every year where many persons speak off-hand and no resolutions are passed and nothing is adopted. If the conference does not pass any resolution and if nothing comes out of such conferences, it is as good as not holding them at all. My suggestion for holding a seminar may therefore be considered by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and accepted if it commends itself.

In any development or ameliorative measure, economic improvement forms the most important and vital aspect. This is especially so in case of tribal welfare.

As it is our object to civilise these people and give them facilities to develop, the first and foremost consideration should be, to my mind, a scheme of colonisation. Strong and durable houses should be built for them by the Government and they be attracted to settle down in colonies giving up their nomadic habits. As they are used only to shifting cultivation, it must be our primary concern to settle them permanently in colonies and give them land for agriculture. We must not only supply them with plough bullocks but also with implements, manures and seed-grains.

The families of tribes should be brought together and settled in large colonies each one of which should be, as far as possible, an economic and viable unit. In agricultural field, trained men should always be stationed at each colony to teach them the method of plough-cultivation. If necessary they may be supplied with ration for one season till the first crop is taken. Each family should be given five to ten acres of land free of cost and the land should be made non-transferable.

Secondly animal husbandry and dairy farming should also form part of their agricultural life. They may be supplied with cows and buffaloes so that they improve their economic condition. They are at present extracting honey and selling it in the nearby markets. It could be profitable if bee-hives are supplied to them and they are taught beekeeping.

Next comes the question of starting Industrial Training Schools where the young men of the tribes may be taught some of the cottage industries which they could afterwards pursue as a profession. Carpentry, smith

some of the industries which may be usefully taught to the tribal young men. This requires a regular scheme.

The next in importance is the question of establishing marketing societies which should purchase the agricultural and other things produced by the tribes and secure a fair price for them. There is a good deal of exploitation of the hill tribes going on by the neighbouring merchants and money-lenders which has to be stopped this way.

This leads us to the question of opening of roads and improving the existing means of communication. It is very essential to connect the tribal colonies amongst each other and also to the nearby civilised cities so that there may be free and mutual exchange of ideas and growth of organisation. This will help in establishing better social and trade relations. The people from the towns should be able to go to the tribals in villages and they must be able to come to the cities and learn the habits and manner of the civilised people.

Another suggestion for improving the tribal economy is to entrust the exploitation of forest for minor produce to the tribal co-operative societies which may arrange to collect and sell the produce and distribute the profit to the tribal members only.

The Mysore Government have tackled practically all the proposals that might be advanced for tribal welfare. We have built 146 beautiful and strong quarters for the tribal families, have released 900 acres of land from the forest area and have proposed to supply them bullocks at a cost of Rs. 30,000/-. We started five schools and two hostels for tribal children, making provision for the free education of 90 children. We have provided them with wells and roads and started a health unit with an Assistant Inspector and sufficient supply of medicines. A jeep has been provided to the health unit to go round the colonies and distribute medicine and give such other medical help as is possible to the hill tribes. The scheme is making good progress and will expand year after year until almost all the hill tribes which number about 16,290 are given all or at least some facilities to develop.

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## २६. श्री राजेन्द्रलाल साहा, (अन्डमान, निकोबार द्वीप)

सभापति जी और दोस्तो,

मुझे खुशी है कि मैं इस आदिवासी कॉन्फरेंस में शरीक हो सका यद्यपि ऐसी कॉन्फरेंस में बोलने का मेरे लिये यह पहला मौका है। जो कुछ भी मैंने कल

सुना और जो रिपोर्ट यहां पेश हुई कि इनके लिये गवर्नमेंट क्या कर रही है और क्या करने जा रही है उसको सुनकर मेरे दिल में बहुत बड़ा उत्साह पैदा हुआ और इस कार्रवाई के लिये मैं गवर्नमेंट को सबसे पहले धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। पर आज मुझे कुछ दुख हुआ कि कुछ मेम्बरों ने यह कहा कि वह इस कार्रवाई से सहमत नहीं हैं क्योंकि—

PRESIDENT:— You please speak about the conditions in Andamans.

अन्डमान्स और निकोबार के सिलसिले में बात यह है कि वहां जो लोग हैं और उनमें जो पिछड़े वर्ग के कहे जा रहे हैं उनकी आबादी कोई १२ हजार की होगी और उनके बीच में मिशनरियों के द्वारा कुछ ऐसे काम हो रहे हैं, कुछ ऐसा काम चलाया जा रहा है जो आगे चलकर हमारे देश के लिये नुकसानदेह चीज साबित हो सकती है। वहां उन लोगों के लिये कुछ सहायता-साधन मिशनरियों के द्वारा दिये जा रहे हैं—जैसे स्कूल और स्वास्थ्य के साधन। बहरहाल गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा भी उनके लिये काफी इन्तजाम किया जा रहा है। आजादी के पहले वहां यह सब काम किसी सोसाइटी, मिशन, संस्था आदि के द्वारा होता था; लेकिन अब यह सब जिम्मेदारी गवर्नमेंट ने ले ली है, सरकार के द्वारा स्कूल चलाये जा रहे हैं। लेकिन आज देखने में यह बात आती है कि सरकारी स्कूलों के अन्दर लड़के ईसाई बनाये जाते हैं और इस तरह निकोबार टापू में बहुत सारे लोग ईसाई बना दिये गये हैं। नन्दकोडी द्वीप—छोटे बड़े सब शामिल होकर—की आबादी कोई तीन हजार की है। वहां पर काफी जबरदस्ती की जा रही है। वहां पर जो पादरी वगैरह हैं वे बड़े जोर से इस दिशा में काम कर रहे हैं और इस बात की काफी कोशिश कर रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट के सामने यह सब चीज आ गयी है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि स्कूलों में वहां के बच्चों को ऐसी शिक्षा दी जाय जिससे उनके मन में यह ख्याल पैदा हो कि वे अच्छे नागरिक बनें, अपने देश को प्यार करने तथा अपनी जिम्मेदारी अपने कंधों पर लेने की भावना उनमें पैदा हो, और वहाँ के मिशनरियों के द्वारा जो कुछ किया जा रहा है, उसकी तरफ उनका ध्यान दिलाया जाय और उनको बताया दिया जाय कि वह उनको कहां ले जाना चाहते हैं। नहीं तो देश के लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि बड़ी हानि होगी, मुझे मालूम है कि पादरियों के द्वारा वहां लड़कों को क्या क्या सिखाया जा रहा है और क्या ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। हरेक स्कूल में वहां यही हो रहा है, उसको एक चर्च हम कहें तो बड़ी बात नहीं होगी। यह हालत है। स्कूलों में इस तरह ईसाई धर्म की शिक्षा दी जा रही है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की शिक्षा की वजह से अब तक की गुलामी का कारण है। तो कहने का मतलब यह है कि



तरक ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये और स्कूलों में मिशनरियों का जो दबाव है, उसको दूर करना चाहिये और आदिवासियों के अन्दर जो एक भाव है कि वे उनमें ऊँचे हैं; यह भी दूर करना चाहिये। वहाँ के जो गांव के हेडमैन, कमिश्नर वगैरह हों उन सबको इस दिशा में काम करना चाहिये। जंग अगाम के पहाड़ी उनके में डिस्ट्रिक्ट कमिश्नर का काम है वैसे ही निकोबार में भी है। तो मैं सरकार का इस और ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारा यह फर्ज है कि जो लोग वहाँ जाना चाहें और वहाँ तिजारत करना चाहें तो उन सबको सब तरह का सहान्वित दो जायें और उनको हम प्रोत्साहित करें कि वे वहाँ जावें और रहें। इससे बहुत लाभ होगा। वहाँ की तिजारत अब एक आदमी के जिम्मे है, ठंके में है। वहाँ आना कारोबार चलाना है और उसी का जहाज भी चलना है। इस तरह से आदिवासियों को एक तरह से वह लूटता है। इन सब चीजों को हमें दूर करना चाहिए। और वहाँ पर तिजारत करने के लिये भारतीयों को जानें देना चाहिए और उनके लिये आवश्यक प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये। कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटीस इत्यादि सुविधाएँ उनको पिलनी चाहिये। इस तरह उनकी सेवा के कुछ कार्य हम कर सकें तो उनको हम अधिक अपना सकते हैं और धीरे धीरे वे हमारे देश के प्रति, हमारी सरकार के प्रति वफादार हो जायेंगे। यह कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ।

## CONCLUDING SPEECH.

by

Shri B. N. Datar

Friends,

We have already exceeded the time limit, and it is high time that I brought this conference to a close. Before I do so, I must again thank you for the patience with which you heard the various speeches yesterday and today. We had a very long and fruitful discussion on the numerous problems bearing on the welfare and uplift of the Adivasis in different parts of India. Certain objections were raised; certain doubts also were expressed, and in the course of my very brief speech I would make a reference to some of them with a view either to elucidate them or to meet the objections. The first objection that was made was that this conference was not representative in character in that representatives from the various districts or tribal areas had not been called here. I might, in the first place, point out to the members that this conference was

designed [to be a deliberative conference. The Members of Parliament desired to know for themselves as also for the benefit of the Government of India the conditions that were actually existing in the different tribal parts of India. We have a report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and, in addition, in as much as the Government of India were vitally interested in knowing the actual conditions from those who were responsible for carrying on this work at the State ends, we desired that the Members of Parliament, the Ministers in-charge of these affairs, their officers and the Members of the Government of India should meet together and should know what the actual things are, to what extent the grants made to the Governments of States were utilised for the purpose that we have in view and the purposes that have been laid before us by the Constitution, and therefore, this conference, as I stated, is a deliberative conference, and I have been extremely glad to know how things have been going on. It is of great use to us here because we know what has been going on in the various parts of India and how the grants are being spent. It is from this point of view, that this conference has been highly useful, and I am quite confident that this conference will be followed by conferences at State levels and conferences also at district levels. Ultimately we have to go to the tribal areas as we are already doing, and we do desire to have the best possible results out of the amounts that the Central Government and the State Governments are spending over this very vital problem of the Indian nation as a whole.

Now in the course of the discussion certain points were made out and the Chief Minister of Ajmer stated that so far as the education was concerned, it ought to be, as far as possible, through the regional language. In other words, his emphasis was towards having one language so far as India was concerned. I had also carried the impression. I am happy that the impression is wrong. According to him the time has come when even the regional languages have to subordinate themselves completely, if not suppressed by the national language. Now I crave permission of the conference to point out that this is not the view that the Congress Organisation to which we belong, has taken in this matter. I have before me a resolution passed by a meeting of the Congress Working Committee held on 4th and 5th April, 1954. It deals with the question of language and medium of instruction in schools and colleges. There the relevant importance of the various languages has been duly pointed out. First it is stated that Hindi is the all-India language for inter-state and inter-provincial purposes. Therefore, Hindi must have our first allegiance. Then, you will also kindly understand that so far as the regional languages are concerned, they are given almost the same importance, subject to the reservations that I pointed out, and therefore the Prime

Minister and the President of India have often said from platforms that the regional languages are also the national languages of the country. Therefore, Hindi and the regional languages go together and the regional languages have their own sphere of importance and I cannot contemplate any possibility of the regional languages either being destroyed or suppressed or supplanted by Hindi or any other language. That is a very large question in which it is not necessary for me to enter at this stage. But I will point out that so far as tribal languages or tribal dialects are concerned, the speakers of these dialects are also entitled to have affection for or attachment to these languages, and it is here that we have got a particular provision in this very wise resolution of the Congress Working Committee and I would like to read that out to you. In para 4 of this resolution they say that the medium of instruction at the primary stage must be the mother-tongue of the child. You will kindly understand that there are circumstances where the mother-tongue need not necessarily be the regional tongue and therefore it has been made clear that the mother tongue of the child is in accordance with the wishes of the parent or the guardian of the child. Ordinarily this will be the language of the area or the State. In tribal areas, (the Congress Working Committee dealt with the subject of tribal areas and that is the problem which we have been discussing since yesterday) the medium of instruction in the early stages should be the mother-tongue of the people of the area. In large cities and other areas where there are many people speaking one language or languages other than the regional language, public primary schools should give instructions in the mother-tongue provided there are a reasonable number of persons demanding such instructions. Then the Working Committee dealt with the bi-lingual areas.

Therefore, we have to take into account the relative importance of the various languages, Hindi as the all-India language, and regional languages which have been mentioned in the Constitution. As a matter of fact, there are certain tribal areas where they have certain tribal dialects and I know for a fact that these tribal people are naturally attached to their own languages. In fact, as I stated to you yesterday, at a number of conferences, my speech was translated not in Hindi, the regional language of Bihar, but in the tribal language. I know a number of social workers who have learned the tribal languages. Therefore, if there are such tribal languages and if there is a demand, as the Congress Working Committee has stated, we have to teach, especially during the earlier stages of the primary schools, in that tribal language. This is so far as tribal languages are concerned, and there is considerable pressure also so far as these languages are concerned. It is important to note that the consolidation of India, the unity of India, could be achieved by giving all these languages their relative

importance so far as the interests of India are concerned. We have, therefore, to harmonise and it might be difficult to have what may be called a mechanical or physical unity. There may be unity in diversity; that is also the Indian philosophic doctrine, *viz.* we have to develop unity in the midst of diversity. That is how this problem has to be approached.

Another question was raised by Shri Jaipal Singh and one or two other persons. So far as the tribal areas or the tribal people are concerned, there are certain points which are absolutely clear to me. One is that the tribal people are and have always to be our brethren. There can be no doubt about it. So far as tribal areas are concerned, they cannot be a close preserve for any class of people. Therefore, the Home Minister this morning stated very rightly that there ought to be a two-way traffic and not necessarily a one-way traffic. The tribal people are our own people. We are entitled to go there and they are entitled to come here, because, after all, we are the common citizens of the same land. What we object to is, you cannot and should not send into any particular tribal area a class of agitators or propagandists of a particular political or social persuasion. Therefore exploiters or agitators might be avoided. If I desire to go and serve the tribal people in a spirit entirely of service and not of patronage at all, I should be entitled to go there, but in view of the fact that there is no parity of position, there is no equality between those poor illiterate and helpless people and people from other parts who are literate and advanced, certain protections and safeguards by way of land legislation, prohibition of alienations, etc. can be done. Therefore all these restrictions are always to be in the interests of the particular tribal people but they ought to be also without prejudice to the right of the tribal people to be ultimately assimilated into the Indian population in the fullest sense of the term. Secondly I as a member of the great Indian nation, ought to be entitled to go to the tribal area, to live among them, as their servant, as their friend, but never as an exploiter.

It is entirely wrong to state that they are living in a way of exclusion, in a way of what we call splendid exclusion and this exclusion ought to be carried on. That cannot be carried on at all so long as they actually are the members of the Indian nation. Therefore it is to be a two-way traffic. We have to go there in a spirit of service. They have to come here as a matter of right, because all the right which any Indian has, has also to be given to these people. Ultimately you are aware that just as there are exploiters, in other cases there are also, it must be said with great credit to those great workers like Gandhiji and Thakar Bapa and a host of others, even in these communities, social workers who are fired by a zeal to go and live

amongst them and ultimately to die in social service. Therefore, these people also must have the right. The only reservation that can be made is that the poor people, the down-trodden people, should not be play-things in our hands and therefore objects of exploitation and that is all that has to be undertaken so far as safeguarding is concerned. Otherwise, they and we are one.

It has also been pointed out that they should have no special schools at all, that schools ought to be of a general character and general education has to be given. I fully agree that in the ultimate analysis whatever they have, whatever the rich treasure they have, has to be assimilated too and taken advantage of by the entire Indian nation, because things of culture and art are the treasure of no community nor even of any nation. Therefore, the Indian culture which is a composite culture, has to be developed out of the culture or art of these people also. In the ultimate analysis the kind of education that can be imparted to these people has to be the same, but that time has to come because the question arises whether, if it is only general education of the type which is given to other members of Indian society that should be given to them, then there are chances that they might be uprooted from their moorings and therefore, it is likely that there would be more restlessness than satisfaction. These are certain difficulties of practical nature that have to be met. We have gradually to bring them to the civilisation or to the kind of life that we are living and civilisation also will receive a contribution from the culture that they have. They ought to have general knowledge, they ought to have opportunities for developing leadership. I see signs of leadership in the various Ministers for Tribal Welfare that are sitting before me and that is, in my opinion, the greatest and most satisfactory sign, because inspite of separation for centuries, these tribal communities have a vitality, as it has been pointed out by some friends, which is absolutely unique. Inspite of the separation for years or centuries, they are coming forward and it will be a proud day in the life of India when these people will come and occupy their legitimate places and instead of being led or misled by others, they would also lead the Indian nation. Therefore we have to understand this problem also—the question of education.

So far as other questions are concerned, it is not necessary to deal with them at this stage. Ultimately the economy would be the economy of the whole nation. For a transitional period there can be something like a tribal economy because they have been living in isolation. Now they are coming into closer contact with the nation, with the outside world. Gradually facilities have been extended to them, and the moment they come at par with others, these facilities would not be required at all. Therefore in the transitional period—it may

be 5, 10 or 15 years—we have to give them land, cheap credit, } the best kind of education that is necessary, we have to give them general education so as to generate leadership and ultimately the most important point to notice is that they have to understand that being the members of the Indian nation their benefit lies in unity. All separatist tendency has to be eliminated. That can be done provided social workers, government officials, ministers and others approach the task in a sense of sacredness and with the idea of service and nothing else.

Yesterday a member suggested that in case we allow them to take full advantage of education, then the educated members of the tribal communities would also add to the unemployment problem and there would be many unemployed people among them. To a certain extent this is true. It is quite likely that there might be some cases where that would be disadvantageous, but the question of education is so important and of absorbing interest that in giving education to these people who have been denied education, we have to take all risks. I find in another context it was stated that the contact with the civilized, that is with modern world, so far as these people were concerned was not necessarily of a desirable kind. I will read to you one sentence where it is stated "In Assam, closer contact with civilization has brought about an increase in disease ; not only specific cases such as venereal diseases and T. B. were introduced but epidemics spread more quickly." Now these are the disadvantages. You should take care and see that these disadvantages or evils do not spread there. We should take care to see also that to the extent possible, so far as these people are concerned, we should help them in the matter of providing employment. So far as services are concerned, we have laid down certain principles, that these people should have proper representation. But assuming the worst, even then the question should be whether they should have spread of education or whether they should have segregation. I would not contemplate with any equanimity the idea of the segregation of these people. We can have no racial segregation, no social segregation. All are one and India is the common land of all the people and if in spreading education on the common scale to all the people including Scheduled Tribes, we have to take certain risks, it is necessary to face the music and carry all the people with us because after all, they and we are one. These are some of the objections which have been made.

Certain suggestions have also been made, for example communications have to be improved. Government of India are vitally interested in the improvement of communications, especially so far as the hilly areas are concerned. You are aware that two or three years ago a special committee was sent to Assam. It went into the whole question and Government of India have been making

special grants. The figures have been read out to you. There are other regions like the Himalayan regions, where communications are not as they ought to be. Therefore communications ought to have all the priority just as education should have priority.

Lastly, it is a matter of great satisfaction that so far as tribal affairs are concerned, the State Governments are carrying on their task in almost a heroic manner. These are problems which are absolutely new to us and as friends have stated there are more wells than there were during the past 400 years. In fact, it is for the first time we are tackling this new problem and we are quite confident that under the guidance of the Prime Minister and according to the great principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi and Thakar Bapa, this problem which is unique in certain ways, which defies solution in certain ways, will also be solved in as best and speedy a manner as possible, because the Government of India and the Governments in the States have absolute accord on this point that these people—the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes—have to come up to a common level. That is the pledge that we have taken and it is a pledge for the implementation of which we are making Herculean efforts.

Lastly, I wish to thank all the Ministers and Officers of States for having come over here at great inconvenience to themselves. This conference has been very useful to us, as I believe, it must have been useful to them also, because they know how things are taking place in other States and how the various problems are being tackled in other areas by the Ministers and State Governments. In particular I must thank the tribal Members of Parliament and friends and the young lady, Shrimati Khongmen, who has been working during the last month almost day and night for making this conference a success.

I thank all the Members again.

PART III

APPENDICES







fundamental problem of poverty of the tribals is solved, other schemes will not carry us very far. (Papers : 1, 2, 13)

In the improvement of communications, however, care should be taken to see that undesirable persons do not get into the tribal area. Strict measures might have to be taken to protect the interests of tribals. (Paper : 2)

8. The tribals are fully conscious of the richness of their environment. Their rich forest and mineral wealth has attracted a stream of outsiders who never hesitate to rob them of their hearth and home. Unfortunately the tribals are not getting their share of exploitation of their wealth. The system of leasing forests, mines, markets to outsiders should be stopped. All the work should be entrusted to the tribals. Co-operative societies should be formed for the performance of the work and loans or grants given to the societies to do the work successfully. The younger generation of tribals should be given training in forestry and other allied subjects. (Papers : 2, 15, 17)
9. Cottage industries like preparing lac, making paper and ropes from sabai grass, carpentry and wood work, tassar silk industry should be encouraged and developed amongst the tribals of Central India and Bihar. (Paper : 2)
10. The tribes living in forests of Travancore-Cochin take to handicrafts in order to meet their day-to-day needs. These handicrafts should be reorganised with modern appliances so that the products of these handicrafts can find a market and thus provide a supplementary income to the tribes. (Paper : 4)
11. The tribals engaged by owners of estates and contractors are not getting fair wages. Mute and inarticulate as they are, we cannot expect written and formal complaints from them. Government should take steps to ensure fair wages and proper working conditions for them. (Papers : 4, 15, 17)
12. Wild game played a great part in the life of the tribals who generally live in the forests. The passing of Game Laws in the different States has caused a void in the life of these people. These people who had to fight lion and boar for their existence are now tame and cowardly. They are only allowed small game. They cannot afford to pay the licence fee. They have been deprived of fish which formed an important part of their food. The dams can be profitably used as finishing farms. They should be given facilities for hunting which they do, not for pleasure but as a means of livelihood. (Papers : 4, 15, 17)
13. The Adivasis are children of the forest. Their economic life depends on forests. The State Governments are trying to settle them in colonies. Previously they could get most of their day-to-day needs like grass, firewood etc. free from the forest, now they have to pay for it. This has hit them very badly. They should be given the right to collect the produce without any charge. (Papers : 15, 17)
14. The tribals very often have to run into debts. Due to illiteracy and innocence they are exploited by the superior accountancy and cleverness of the money-lenders and have to pay many times their original borrowings. The Government should take steps to protect from such

exploitation. They may consider the setting up some Debt Adjustment Board, to go into this question. The loans may be treated as grants. The small land now left with tribals should be protected by necessary legislation. (Papers : 15, 17)

### TRIBAL EDUCATION

1. In the tribal areas, suitable environments for education are conspicuous by their absence. The tribals consider their children an economic asset because they help to supplement the very meagre income of the family. The children at school are of no use to the parents. The tribal children, poor and ill-clad as they are, are not in a proper mood to receive education at school. The teachers in these areas have to stay in unfamiliar atmosphere which is sometimes even hostile. They have very often to maintain two establishments. So they are not happy to stay and want to get away at the first opportunity. The creation of proper conditions for education is the first essential thing. It can be done in the following ways.
  - (a) The teachers in the tribal areas should have a thorough knowledge of the tribal life and culture. It will be much better if the teachers can be recruited from the tribal areas. The ashram schools will provide a much-needed flow of teachers suitable for working in the tribal areas.
  - (b) Mid-day meals, prizes for regular attendance and satisfactory progress and training in interesting crafts will help in attracting students to the schools.
  - (c) The school hours should be so adjusted as to enable the children to be of help to their parents. To fight the apathy and inertia on the part of the parents, intensive propaganda through official and non-official channels should be carried out. (Paper : 5)
2. The prevailing system of education does not suit the conditions in tribal areas. The education in order to be useful to tribals must aim at conserving and developing their culture and religion. It should improve their capacity to earn and raise their standard of living. After leaving the school the student should be in a position to stand on his own legs. For this purpose basic education will be most useful to them. (Papers : 5, 7)
3. Intellectually a tribal is in no way inferior to the man from the plains and can benefit from education in an equal measure. Therefore there should be the same syllabus and course of training for the tribal and non-tribal students. (Paper : 5)
4. Tribal education should be related to tribal life. Carpentry, wood-carving, rope making, farming, bee-keeping are some of the crafts which should be taught to the tribal children in the school. (Papers : 5, 7)
5. With the limited resources, the State Governments cannot aim at providing very high education to all the tribals. Therefore the aim should be to provide education upto a certain minimum standard to all the tribals. (Paper : 5)
6. In areas where the tribal dialect is very different from the regional language, the education in the first two standards should be imparted

in the tribal dialect and then in the regional language. (Paper : 5)

7. Ashram schools should be started in large numbers. These schools are the real answer to the problem of tribal education. (Papers : 5, 17)
8. The tribals live scattered in hills and jungles where it is not economical for the Government to open schools. Non-official agencies can run the schools much cheaper. Moreover since these agencies are inspired by a missionary zeal, they shall maintain the institutions in a more idealistic manner. Since the resources of the State Governments are very much limited, the Central Government will have to meet a major share of the expenses. (Paper : 5)
9. The principle of having the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the first two standards (Point 6 above) is incapable of being put into practice because in the 3rd standard the child will be faced with the problem of learning a new language. One solution might be to have the text-books in Hindi or Marathi (regional language) but the teachers be trained the tribal dialects so that they can converse with and explain to the students in their mother-tongue. For this we shall have to provide for the teaching of the tribal languages at the existing schools where the future teachers would be trained. If this experiment is successful, it would avoid the difficulties of a change-over of languages in the child's educational career and would solve the problem of production of text-books for the tribal schools. (Paper : 6)
10. The tribal dialects generally do not have any script of their own. Devanagari as a script cannot reproduce the inflections and guttural sounds occurring in the tribal dialects. It would require a good deal of effort to reproduce them, and the resultant vocabulary of the tribal child will be full of 'Sanyuktakhshar' and 'matras' and the text-books will be full of difficult and complex words. (Paper : 6)
11. The Roman script has so far mostly been used for the tribal languages in Assam. Any attempt at changing it will result in a set-back to the development of these languages. It might also cause suspicion and disfavour. It is therefore advisable that no attempt, for the time being, be made to change the script. Where however the Roman script is not in use, Devanagari script could be adopted. (Paper : 7)
12. Under the Constitution, primary education in the tribal areas is the responsibility of the District Councils and higher education has to be looked after by the State Government. Students from the primary schools of different hill districts have to come and join the same middle and high schools. Therefore it is necessary that the District Councils should have some sort of co-ordination in adopting the pattern and syllabi for the primary schools so that the students are not put to any undue inconvenience on reaching the middle-school stage. (Paper : 7)
13. It is expected that in course of time, the tribals will themselves feel the need and advantage of learning the regional language. At the same time arrangements should be made to teach some of the tribal languages in the schools in the plains for developing better appreciation of tribal culture and way of life and to facilitate better understanding. (Paper : 7)

14. The thirst for education amongst the tribals is great and response to the efforts to spread education is encouraging. It is, therefore, necessary to encourage them to take to technical and professional education for there is a great dearth of technical personnel like doctors, teachers, engineers willing to work in these areas. (Paper : 7)
15. The number of scholarships being given to Adivasi students should be considerably increased. The tribals are generally so poor that they cannot afford to spend any thing for education. Very often the value of the scholarship is not enough to maintain the students at their places of education. The value of scholarships should also be increased. (Papers : 7, 8, 15, 17).  
More scholarships should be given for higher education. In the award of scholarships, however, the authorities should see that the Christian tribals who are already more advanced, get scholarships only in proportion to their population. (Paper : 15)
16. In Assam, the middle and high school education is the responsibility of State Government. A middle school has to be so situated that it can draw students passing out of a number of primary schools. Recently there has been a tendency for middle schools to grow up like mushrooms. Village and clan rivalries have in some cases been responsible for it. This has resulted in the lowering of standard in these schools and closing down of quite a few schools, for lack of funds, the village or tribe not being in a position to meet the expenses and the Government being unable to give grants-in-aid to all these schools. This should be stopped immediately as the sufferers in all cases are the poor students. (Paper : 7)
17. The population in the tribal areas is sparse, therefore the middle and high schools have to be judiciously situated. In order that each school be able to serve a large number of pupils, it should have a hostel attached to it. In addition to being useful to students from distant areas, it shall afford an opportunity to the students to lead neat, clean and disciplined life taking interest in cultural and other discussions which are not otherwise possible in the villages. (Paper : 7)
18. That the tribals do not grow up in seclusion and isolation, it is necessary to see that the teachers are taken, not only from amongst the tribals but also from amongst the plains people. At the same time, however, care should be taken while selecting teachers for these areas. Only those who are temperamentally suited to such work should be selected. (Paper : 7)
19. Planned tours of tribal students to places of interest in the plains should be arranged. These, along with the N. C. C., Scouting and Roving camps will provide the much-needed contacts of the tribals with the non-tribals and weld them in the attainment of the desirable objectives. (Paper : 7)
20. The efforts made by the Government in the matter of tribal education have not borne fruit. The type of education (education with a vocational bias) has not been appreciated by the tribals. They are born to labour and thrive on it, therefore it does not convey much sense teaching them the value of labour. What is needed is more stress on general education. The system of vocational training cannot be successful if the people receiving it are not interested in the

seven years that have passed since these schools were opened, appreciable progress has not been made. On the other hand this education has resulted in an illfeeling. If the idea is to bring them in line with other advanced communities, the merits and demerits of the present system should be examined by experts. (see also points 2 and 7 above)  
(Paper : 8)

21. The adult franchise given to these people is of no use to them unless they are educated. On the other hand it has proved harmful as they are duped and made to act against their own interests. To avoid this and for the real safe-guard of their interests, they should be educated on general lines, without which they can neither get adequate representation in the services nor take their rightful place amongst the free men of the nation. The little education that the tribal students get at the ashram schools, is not enough to enlighten them, leave aside educating other villagers and tribes men. More academic education could have helped them at least in dissemination of literacy. (Paper : 8)
22. The teaching staff in the Adivasi schools is of a temperament adverse to the interests of the taught. The Government should select the teaching staff with care. Besides education in the institutions, it is of great help to Adivasis if visual aids are used to enlighten them. Magic lanterns and charts can be more helpful than speeches and lectures. The Government should lend a helping hand to bring out the tribal culture, which has so far not been possible due to lack of education. (Paper : 8)
23. Most of the tribal dialects do not have any script, therefore Devanagiri should be adopted as a script for all such dialects (see also points 10 and 11). This will help in bringing about tribal unity and unity with the rest of India.  
(Paper : 8)
24. The percentage of literates amongst the tribals is very low. The educational facilities provided under the different schemes of State and Central Governments are inadequate. The standard of education in Adivasi schools is very low. After receiving education at these schools, when the students go to schools in towns they cannot get admission there. Therefore the standard of Adivasi schools should be raised and some seats should be reserved in high schools for students coming from Adivasi schools.  
(Paper : 16)
25. The tribal students do not get the stipends in time. The buildings have not been completed. The food in the hostels is of bad quality. On the other hand the schools run by the non-official agencies are doing better. They are being better managed. The Government should see that their money is not wasted.  
(Paper : 15)
26. The number of schools in the Adivasi area is far from sufficient. The Government should open more schools. The fee of the students who join other schools should be paid out of funds for tribal welfare.  
(Paper : 15)

### TRIBAL CULTURE

1. During the British regime there was no encouragement to develop the tribal culture. On the other hand, there was a tendency among the educated people to lean towards Christian music and culture, though the uneducated clung to their old dances and music. Since Independence, the Government have been making efforts to help revive and

develop the tribal culture. The broadcasting stations have helped a lot in this direction. The tribal dance which has been greatly appreciated all over India always finds place in the big cultural programmes held in the country. The music of the plains tribes has distinct Indian background and is akin to it. (Paper : 9)

2. The State Government wish to appoint a Research Officer to study the tribal culture and find out the lost or hidden meaning in the dance and music and its relation to the dance and music of the plains and to integrate and co-ordinate the various phases of it as displayed by the various tribes. This will help in integrating and developing the tribal culture which has survived years of negligence and indifference on the part of foreign rulers. (Paper : 9)
3. It would be wrong to judge the tribals from the non-tribals' standards of morality and culture. The Government should be very cautious while introducing social reforms. The tribals must develop in their own background which is different from ours. They have their own dances and music and other things pertaining to culture for developing which they only require a little assistance. No attempt should be made to force the non-tribal culture or our concept of their culture on them. (Paper : 13)
4. The tribals have a rich culture but that needs protection. The Government should provide the necessary protection and also help in its development. (Paper : 17)

#### GRANT-IN-AID SCHEMES FOR TRIBAL WELFARE

1. A welfare programme envisaging major change in a certain human groups requires a team of trained social workers for its successful execution. The meagre resources of the State do not permit that expenditure. To make the best use of the grants-in-aid, some such machinery to study, evaluate and assess the needs and requirements of the people should be created by the centre. The Central Government should, therefore, allot more funds for tribal welfare. (Paper : 10)
2. The programme for the tribal welfare includes a number of items like improvement of communications, education, health, hygiene, arts and crafts, etc. For a balanced development, simultaneous work on all these is necessary, and that requires more money which evidently has to come from grants-in-aid from the centre. If more funds cannot be provided, we shall have to restrict our work to a few items but then we shall reach our goal very late. (Paper : 10)
3. The grants-in-aid should be given in a lump sum and not in instalments and should be made non-lapsable. (Paper : 10)
4. When the welfare schemes are submitted to the Centre for approval, they are split up and sent to different ministries for consideration and opinion. That delays matters in the first place : secondly the officers examining them have no knowledge of the actual conditions in the tribal areas and are therefore not good judges. The schemes should therefore be finalised by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who has able Regional Assistant Commissioners under him who know the actual conditions in the tribal areas and are therefore better judges. (Paper : 10)



5. The Government should give funds for expansion of existing schemes and creation of new ones in view of the necessity caused in the process of integration. The State Government due to financial stringency cannot provide a matching grant. The result is that the old schemes which require expansion remain unchanged and become stale and moribund. The Central Government should therefore provide funds for such schemes. (Paper : 10)
6. In spite of the many-fold difficulties facing the State Government the results so far achieved are spectacular and they justify continuing the development programme during the second Five Year Plan, so as to complete the process of all round development of these areas. (Paper : 11)
7. Separate sums should be ear-marked for the schemes for the development of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or other backward classes. Each class for whom the sum is meant shall in this way get the full benefit from it and there will be no wastage. (Paper : 17)

### LAND PROBLEMS OF TRIBALS

1. The tribals want to own land as much as anybody else does. They are really good agriculturists as has been seen in the new colonies started by the Government. Most of the land in the hill districts was originally reclaimed by the tribals and they were deprived of it by unscrupulous money-lenders and land-grabbers. The tribals are really land-hungry. So the problem is not of persuading the tribals to take to settled cultivation but the Government's difficulty to provide land. (Papers : 12, 15)
2. The tribals who live mixed up with the non-tribal population in the coastal villages have very little land and generally work in others' farms. They have to be helped with bullocks, seeds and implements. The uneconomic holdings have to be supplemented. They need co-operative societies, cottage industries and less expensive education. (Paper : 12)
3. The tribals living in the hill districts (of Orissa) need land. Leasing fallow land alone will not help them. They have to be helped in reclaiming it, buying bullocks, seeds and implements. They should be assisted in rebuilding villages sinking wells and opening schools. (Paper : 12)
4. The tribals who live up the hills or in the hill slopes present the most difficult problem. They distrust men from the plains. At the slightest inconvenience in the new colonies, they want to get back to the hills. The Government have first of all, to create confidence in these people and the development work will start only after that. (Paper : 12)
5. The tribals are land hungry and as long as this hunger is not fed, they are not likely to take to industries and services. (Paper : 12)
6. The problem of providing sufficient land for all those who need it, is really great and requires a lot of money and will therefore require a good deal of assistance from the Central Government. (Paper : 12)
7. The Adivasis generally live in forests and would not leave them at any

cost. Efforts made by the Madhya Pradesh Government to settle them in villages have not been successful and the Adivasis have returned to the forests, so all the schemes of settling them should be such that the adivasis remain near the forests. (Paper :16)

8. The tribals laboured hard to cultivate land from which they are now being dispossessed by the Government officials. If the tribals cannot be given back that land, they should be compensated for the money they spent on it. (Paper :15)

### MISCELLANEOUS POINTS

1. The administrative, educational and social centre should be located right in the heart of tribal areas. Through better contact, these centres will be more useful to these people. As far as possible, the centres should be maned by Adivasis themselves. The Adivasi area must speak through its own representatives in *panchayats*. With proper help from the Government, the Adivasis shall be able to do the work of their own uplift much better. (Paper :13)
2. The report of the Scheduled Tribes Commission provides for advisory councils of Adivasis in each state. There should be such a committee in the Centre also to co-ordinate the work of the provincial bodies. The representatives of Adivasis should be on all these bodies and in Central and State Cabinets. The Government should appoint tribal representatives in the Parliamentary Committees also. (Paper :12)
3. A good number of Adivasis live in the North Thanna District of Bombay. This district is comparatively very backward. The second Five-Year Plan should give priority to the development of this area. (Paper : 12)

8. Whatever schemes are undertaken by the Government, the local population should be employed in their execution. These people will do the work zealously, and the unemployment problem of the area shall be minimised. (Paper : 13)
9. The officials in the tribal areas never hesitate to extract money from the poor tribals on one pretext or the other. The *patwaris* in the villages, the policemen, the forest officials, the clerks in the courts always manage to get some hold on them and extract some money. When the illiterate tribals go to get their arms licences renewed, the clerks tell them that the last date for the renewals is over and they have to bribe them to get their work done. The poor tribals must be saved from this kind of cheating and exploitation. (Papers : 15, 17)
10. Drinking and gambling are the two major evils amongst the Adivasis. The Government should create a section to propagate their evil effects. This should be preferably under non-official or semi-official agencies. This work could be usefully entrusted to the *panchayats* in the tribal areas. (Papers : 15, 17)

## APPENDIX II

### IMPORTANT POINTS FROM SPEECHES

#### TRIBAL ECONOMY

1. India is being affected by the economic problems of the world what may be called the "Market Economy". It almost amounts to the 'survival of the fittest'. Fortunately it has not reached the tribals. If it reaches their areas, it will prove ruinous to them. It should not be allowed to upset the economy of the tribals. (Speech : 2)
2. It is not possible to bring about any improvement in the hill areas, unless the means of communication are improved. The benefits will reach them only through some sort of roads. So the first and foremost thing is to improve communications. (Speeches : 6,8,13,21)
3. On account of ravages of climate and inadequate protection, most of the hill tribals shift to lesser heights and for six months in the year, are practically on the roads. They should be taught industries like blanket-making, which would provide them not only protection from winter but also an extra means of livelihood. Facilities in the shape of minor irrigation scheme would enable them to grow enough food for themselves and remove the necessity of moving down to the plains. (Speech : 2)

10. The compulsory labour services for collecting forest produce received by contractors and by Government officials for maintenance and making of roads and public works should be stopped. (Speech : 14)
11. Previously the tribals used to have the facilities of wild game, wild fruits, minor forest produce, and fodder free of all costs. Now they have to pay for them in one form or the other. This has hit the poor tribals very badly. The Government should take steps to restore these rights to the tribals. Some forests should be reserved for the tribals and the laws for protection of forests and wild game should not apply to these forests. (Speech : 26)
12. The condition of tribals in Orissa is not very different from that of equally backward non-tribal communities. The main problem is their poverty. Therefore the remedy is to raise the general standard of living. (Speech : 27)
13. The trade of Andaman and Nicobar islands is in the hands of one contractor who is exploiting the Adivasis as well as others. Co-operative societies should be started to safe-guard the interests of the Adivasis. (Speech : 29)

### TRIBAL EDUCATION

1. In India the emphasis should be on basic education and not on literary education. That alone can help in solving the economic problems and the problem of unemployment amongst the Indians and especially the tribal population. (Speech : 2)
2. The medium of instruction in tribal schools should be the regional language. (Speeches : 4, 7)
3. It is not correct to think that the tribals need only agricultural education. For proper progress, they must have all-round education, vocational as well as academic, though greater emphasis will have to be on vocational subjects. (Speeches : 6, 7, 10)  
The tribals should always receive education along with the non-tribals. (Speech : 7)
4. Suitable teachers knowing the tribal languages are not available. Steps should be taken to train the tribals for teaching in their own areas. (Speeches : 6, 10)
5. The tribal education should be consistent with their economic conditions. Education in the ashram schools is the best type suited to tribal conditions for it is the least expensive and enables the students to stand on their own legs. (Speeches : 4, 13)
6. Arrangements should be made to impart instructions in the mother-tongue of the child, where there is a reasonably large number of children demanding instructions in that language. (Speeches : 5, 12)
7. The tribals are not assured of any future prospects after education, therefore the parents are not interested in sending their children to school. If possible, night schools should be started, so that the children can, during the day, help their parents in other work. (Speech : 5)

8. The restriction that a tribal student whose guardian's income is more than Rs. 500/- P.M will not get financial assistance should be removed. (Speech : 5)
9. Students who pass the examination in the second and third division should be allowed to receive assistance from the Government in order to continue their studies. (Speech : 5)
10. Hindi should be encouraged in the tribal areas, but not at the cost of the local dialects. The medium of instruction in the schools should always be the mother-tongue of the children. The different languages should be mixed in order to enrich each other. (Speech : 10)
11. Since most of the tribal languages do not have a script, efforts should be made to introduce Devanagiri script for them. That will serve as a medium to bring them together. (Speech : 10)
12. The public organisation should start as many ashram schools as possible. (Speech : 11)
13. For adult education, which is the general education, the medium of radio and cinema should be extensively made use of. (Speech : 13)
14. The number of scholarships and stipends being given to tribal students should be greatly increased. (Speech : 15)
15. There should be a university where students from all the backward areas, from all educational standard should come. After receiving a preparatory course depending upon their individual need they should be trained to become teachers, doctors, nurses, technicians and follow other useful professions. Then they should be sent back to their respective areas to work amongst their own people. It should be worked on something like the lines of the University of National Minorities in China. (Speech : 17)
16. Primary education is more important than higher education which can be available only to the selected few. (Speech : 21)
17. The very principle of ashram schools is incorrect. They only help in maintaining the gulf between the tribals and the non-tribals. The education should be in general schools where tribals and non-tribals study together. (Speech : 21)
18. The tribals should not be forced to adopt any particular script or language. This choice should be completely left to them. (Speech : 24)
19. The primary schools started in Tripura by the tribal people should be given help in order to save them from collapse. (Speech : 25)
20. Boarding-houses for exclusive use by the tribal students should be provided at divisional or town headquarters where high schools already exist. (Speech : 25)

Lot of money provided for education is being wasted. Sometimes school buildings crumble down in one year and so on. A certain check should be kept on the utilisation of money provided for these unfortunate people. (Speech : 25)

22. Ashrams and Sevashrams are the correct means to educate the tribals. Those who do not make much of a success here should be taught better means of cultivation and thus made good agriculturists.  
(Speech : 27)

### TRIBAL CULTURE

1. The local dialects should also be encouraged because the folk-songs are in that language. In order to save and develop their culture, the language has to be more widely known. (Speech : 8)
2. Music and dance are powerful media of culture. The non-tribals have started appreciating the tribal dance and music. Scholarships should be given to the tribal students to live in other parts of the country in order to study the culture of those regions. That will create a good deal of mutual understanding. (Speech : 10)
3. There should be a two-way traffic. The tribals should come and live amongst us and we should go there to know them and live with them. Maximum contacts should be established. (Speeches : 11, 12, 30)
4. Every state should have an institute to study the tribal culture. Their culture can be preserved if along with the other education, they receive teaching on background of folk-songs and dances and thus realise the greatness of their culture. In this way, they will not be ashamed to go back to their own people as the case has been with a number of students who have received education in cities. (Speech : 12)
5. India needs the tribal culture to lend colour to her civilization. Their culture should therefore be studied and developed as much as possible. (Speech : 27)

### GRANT-IN-AID SCHEMES FOR TRIBAL WELFARE

1. It has been found that very often schemes from the states are not received in time and thus cannot be included in the next year's budget. Sometimes the grants made are not utilised by the states, and the amounts lapse. Every effort should be made to expedite matters. The delay in sanctions of schemes is caused only because the schemes are late in reaching the Centre. (Speech : 3)
2. It is very necessary that the State Governments should send to the Central Government the progress report of the welfare schemes as frequently as possible. That will ensure co-operation between the Central and State Governments. (Speech : 3)
3. The problems of tribal welfare are very vast and need more money. The resources of the State Governments are limited. The Central Government should therefore, give more money as grants-in-aid. (Speech : 9)
4. The grants-in-aid are not fully utilised. (Speech : 14)
5. Although the Government of West Bengal are doing their best for the betterment of the tribal population, they have been handicapped by lack of funds. Out of their limited resources, they have to spend on

the rehabilitation of refugees, therefore they are not left with enough money for the various welfare schemes. (Speech : 20)

### LAND PROBLEMS OF TRIBALS

1. As you go up the Godavri river right up to Bhadrachalam, you find that the people from the plains have ousted the Adivasis of all the best land. Nothing has been done to undo this great wrong. (Speech : 14)
2. A land commission should be appointed to go into the whole question of land alienation and land problems of tribals. (Speech : 16)
3. The tribals had worked very hard to prepare good land for cultivation. At the time of abolition of Zamindari, the landlords retained that land for themselves. The tribals, who used to make a reasonable income out of it, lost their means of living. This land should be restored to them. (Speech : 22)
4. The lands should be reserved for cultivation by the tribals. The requisitioning of agricultural lands from the tribals in Tripura must stop immediately and the tribals should be permanently settled on the land. (Speech : 25)

### MISCELLANEOUS

1. The tribals should be kept away from liquor. (Speech : 2)
2. The tribals have to progress but in their own way only. They have their own likes and dislikes and do not like anything being imposed on them. There are two approaches ; the museum approach and the open-door approach. Both of them are wrong. We have to find a middle way and for that we have to :—
  - (a) train men from amongst themselves to work for their betterment rather than bringing outsiders to work there.
  - (b) To see that nothing is imposed on them. (Speeches : 2, 8, 13, 16)
3. Progress in the tribal areas does not mean duplicating what we have in the rest of India. It may not be suitable to their condition. They will themselves adopt what suits them. The progress has got to be slow. So we should go ahead on a firm basis rather than doing odd jobs here and there for their betterment. (Speech : 2)
4. The missionaries have done very useful work in the tribal areas. Only if they would keep this great humanitarian work above any other interest of their own, their work would be more appreciated. The problem of the uplift is very vast and the resources of the Government are limited. Therefore the non-official organisations shall have to do a lot for the speedy betterment of these backward communities. The youth of the country should go in these areas and work with a missionary zeal. (Speech : 3)
5. It will be wrong to maintain all the good or bad customs of the tribals ; that will foster isolationism (Speech : 7)



6. The tribals should be told the use of medicinal herbs which grow in the forests. (Speech : 6)
7. The schools, boarding-houses, hospitals, agricultural training centres etc. should be grouped together, so that the persons working there can find some company and have some incentive to stay for longer periods and give their whole attention to the welfare of the tribals. (Speech : 12)
8. A central institute should be started to train whole-time social workers, who shall go and work amongst the tribals. (Speech : 12)
9. In order to create confidence among the Adivasis, they should be made to feel that there is something good in their neighbours, at the same time explaining to them that they are in no way inferior to their neighbours. (Speech : 13)
10. The post of Special Officer at Kurnool which has been abolished should be revived immediately. The State Agency at Kurnool should be allowed to remain there. (Speech : 14)
11. The Central and Regional offices should be located not in the capitals but in the interior, so that the officials can have a direct touch with the Adivasis. (Speech : 14)
12. The missionaries are doing very useful work. We should either do something better than that or let them carry on. The poor tribals will be nowhere but for these missionaries. (Speech : 16)
13. The question of tribal welfare should be kept above party politics. (Speech : 16)
14. There should be a separate ministry to look after the backward section of Indian population. (Speeches : 16, 19)
15. The institutions and centres of welfare work should be not in the capitals but in the heart of tribal area. Only then can they have any direct touch with the Adivasis. (Speech : 16)
16. The representatives of the tribal areas have only a hazy idea about the development schemes. We should be told the full details of the schemes so that we can tell our people what is being done for their development and how they can also co-operate to get the maximum advantage out of it. (Speech : 18)
17. The Central and State Governments should chalk out separate development schemes for the specific Adivasi areas in each State. (Speech : 18)
18. There should be a Central Adivasi Committee to keep direct and continuous contact with the Central Government and Planning Commission. This committee would safeguard the interests of Adivasis and help the Government in speeding up the development schemes. (Speech : 18)
19. The social workers working in Adivasi areas, in order to have an

intimate contact with those people, should know the language of the people. (Speech : 19)

20. The tribal population especially in Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh should be determined correctly and proper representation and other benefits given according to their population. (Speeches : 15, 23)
21. There should be some wells in each village because most of the tribals fall victim to various diseases by drinking dirty water from the 'nallahs'. (Speech : 21)
22. Mobile dispensaries should be provided in the areas, where it is not possible to have hospitals. (Speech : 21)
23. The Government while preparing the tribal welfare schemes should take the representatives of tribals into confidence. Preferably the initiative for such schemes should come from the tribals themselves. (Speech : 24)
24. When a Government official visits Tripura to find out things about the tribals, he stays in Agartala, meets the Government officials there and never comes in contact with the tribal people so he never comes to know their real problems. Therefore all visiting officials and ministers should go and meet the representatives of the people also. (Speech : 25)
25. All the welfare schemes for tribal welfare should be worked out by a non-official committee. The Government should provide money after careful scrutiny. (Speech : 25)
26. Conversion of tribals to Christianity is going on on a large scale. The activities of missionaries have taken a dangerous turn in the tribal areas, so much so that they have started saying things against the Indian Government also. (Speech : 26)
27. A seminar should be held to which are invited the representatives of the State Governments viz., commissioners and directors of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Members of Parliament and representatives of the non-official agencies doing welfare work. They should be formed into various sub-committees to go into the details of various questions. This should be followed by a public conference which should make recommendations to be implemented by the Government. (Speech : 28)
28. In Andaman and Nicobar islands, the students even in Government schools are being converted. The Government should put a check to it. (Speech : 29)
29. There should be maximum contacts between the tribals and non-tribals, at the same time taking care that the undesirable people do not go amongst them to exploit them. (Speech : 30)
30. The regional and local languages have also to progress along with the national language. The tribal languages and dialects have as much right to progress as any other language.